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# ***JPRS Report***

# **Soviet Union**

## ***Political Affairs***

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# Soviet Union Political Affairs

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**Kuybyshev First Secretary Afonin Interviewed**  
*18001015 Moscow NEDELYA in Russian*  
*No 16, 17-23 Apr 89 p 13*

[Interview with Kuybyshev First Secretary Afonin by IZVESTIYA Correspondent Sergey Zhalalov: "Veniamin Afonin, Obkom Secretary"; date and place not given]

[Text] The current guest on our Page 13 is—People's Deputy of the USSR, Kuybyshev Oblast CPSU Committee First Secretary Veniamin Georgievich Afonin. He was one of the candidates for People's Deputy of the USSR for Kuybyshev Oblast Industrial Territory Election District No 206. The other candidate was a businesslike and energetic engineer. More than 70 percent of the voters cast their ballot for the Obkom first secretary.

[Correspondent] Veniamin Georgievich, why in your view did your opposing candidate garner so few votes?

[Afonin] Apparently, my pre-election platform struck closer to the heart of the most acute, urgent problems of the day. I am confident that the platform is realistic and that it can be carried out. And apparently I was able to convince those who voted for me, of that. I shall strive to justify their faith.

Here are the basic positions of my platform: Above all, All Power to the Soviets. As long as the ministries and departments continue to centrally distribute the products and profits made in the regions, the Soviets will be unable to hold onto the assets and funds; and consequently, no cardinal changes will occur in the social sphere. Regional cost-accounting [khozraschet] and self-administration are seen as the mechanism for embodying the power of the Soviets in the localities.

Secondly: We must prevent an ecological catastrophe, and establish a legal mechanism for protecting the environment; we must have ecological expertise for enterprises and projects that is extra-departmental, that depends on no one. In essence these are also aspects of social justice: as are housing, food and consumer goods.

If anyone was expecting that I, having taken the position of Kuybyshev Oblast party first secretary, am bringing from the banks of the Volga stacks of food and consumer goods and packets of orders for apartments, they have been waiting in vain. The new oblast leadership has no magic wand. And the region's age-old economic problems cannot be resolved in an hour. We must switch-on the new economic mechanism at full RPM's. Programs have been worked out under which, for example, next year we will receive an additional three kilograms of meat and seven kilograms of milk per capita in the oblast. I know. That's not much. But, after we move off the spot of stagnation, we shall pick up speed.

[Correspondent] The "Childhood" Program was also part of your election platform.

[Afonin] Homeless children—they are our pain, our shame. The loudly-proclaimed declaration about the "only privileged class in our society" often is not backed up with genuine concern for orphaned children, or for the little fugitives from bad families. It's a crying shame!

Our mother had ten children. We lived in a mining camp, in Kemerovo Oblast. Father died in 1942. At that time we were not so acutely aware that we were hard up: it was hard for everyone. But today's unfortunate kids compare themselves with their contemporaries who live in comfort and sufficiency. And they suffer from these comparisons. "Childhood" is a complex of measures to improve the situation of orphaned children and mothers with lots of offspring. I believe it is necessary to bring a proposal to the USSR Supreme Soviet to provide additional leave for mothers caring for children, while continuing to receive their average wages, for up to three years.

[Correspondent] At age 11 you were left without a father: what sort of shape did your life take?

[Afonin] It was pretty ordinary. Elementary school; then a chemical-technological tekhnikum; then the plant. I was a team leader and a foreman. I served in the army. Then I worked in the virgin lands. In 1957 I joined the party. I went to night school and graduated from the Kemerovo Polytechnical Institute. Since 1968 I've been in party work. I was chairman of the Nevinomyssk party gorkom. Next, I was a department chief, and secretary of the Stavropol Kray CPSU Committee. And then chief of the Chemical Industry Department at the CPSU Central Committee. And now, here I am, in Kuybyshev Oblast.

[Correspondent] I know that a great many Kuybyshevites are trying to get to see you. How do you explain this?

[Afonin] I think it's the lack of communication between leaders and citizens in the recent past; and, bureaucratism among many party, Soviet, trade-union and business managers, who were either unable to or did not want to solve problems within their competence. It is also the legacy of the personality cult, when the obkom first secretary used to solve everything both for the director, and for the rector, and for the procurator...

I would not like to single out our oblast as one that has fallen into an extremely critical situation. The entire country is going through a difficult, tense time. Through the enormous efforts of the people the economy is coming out of its pre-crisis situation, and principally—new political structures and social priorities are forming.

It would not be fair to think that I had inherited a ruin here. The oblast has colossal economic potential, solid science, and quite a number of energetic and thoughtful leaders. But there are also significant failures, and the root cause of many evils is—inattention to people. Social justice is still measured by a flexible yardstick.

And social justice is the exposed nerve of perestroyka! It is the focal point, where the economy and morality and state problems and domestic concerns meet. And we, the party officials, are obligated to resist everything that gives rise to popular dissatisfaction. And of course, not give cause to this ourselves.

[Correspondent] Incidentally, the IZVESTIYA news desk keeps getting telephone calls saying, "Afonin and his wife have occupied the enormous apartments of his predecessor, and is violating the housing legislation..."

[Afonin] I really did not want to move into those "apartments," but they are equipped with special communications, and to move them to another apartment would cost the city tens of thousands of rubles. I have divided the "apartments" with a blind wall into two apartments, and my family and I are living in one of them, which has two rooms.

[Correspondent] And how do you provide food for yourself?

[Afonin] We buy our food in ordinary stores, and in the market stalls of the consumers' cooperative.

[Correspondent] The new white-marble obkom building has become a multi-story "monument to the stagnation epoch." Speaking of Lenin's principles of social justice, one cannot avoid noticing Lenin's memorial, built next to the museum-house where Vladimir Ilich lived: the very same marble, the very same pomposity...

[Afonin] I am convinced that if Lenin knew about such acts by his "grateful descendants," he would demand that the initiators of such "perpetual magnificence" be punished... Now it remains to merely utilize the space of the memorial as fully as possible. We shall use it for scientific-theoretical conferences on social problems; for various seminars and lectures; for meetings with outstanding workers and veterans; for receiving people into the party, the Komsomol and the Pioneers; for art exhibits and other expositions. In a word it should be a genuine scientific and cultural center.

And the new obkom building will house also the oblast ispolkom, the oblast planning commission, and the Komsomol obkom. We have decided to "squeeze in" a little more, and move the CPSU and Komsomol gorkoms here too, and to use the party gorkom building for an art museum. Construction of a number of buildings for the party organization has been halted; for example, the CPSU Obkom Political Education Building. The assets freed up will be transferred to the social-domestic sphere in Kuybyshev. And the Oblast ispolkom hotel has been turned over to the city for the needs of society. Hospital No 1 in the suburbs is being turned into a rehabilitation center for veterans. More than 50 apartments formerly occupied by government agencies have been vacated. Similar things are taking place in other rayons of the oblast as well.

[Correspondent] People in the city are bewildered about the "addition" to the gorispolkom. Under the guise of "adding-on," a large building has been put up; inside, once again, there is marble and oak. And a few paces away—there is the children's art school, where the ceiling is falling down! The oblast oncological dispensary has been under repair for ten years. The children's musical school, the puppet theater and TYuZ [Theater for Young Audiences] are suffering from poverty... I could go on and on with such examples.

[Afonin] The gorispolkom "addition" was the subject of principled discussion at a session of the City Soviet and at the party gorkom buro. It is not merely a matter of the ispolkom thinking first about the comfort of its staff, and only then about the needs of the citizens. But such repeat offenses, just as per-capita allocation of housing and goods, have been resolved: tightening control, drawing practical conclusions, and thus the mechanism has done its job. But it is much harder to change the stereotypical thinking that, "I'm the boss; I'm allowed..."

[Correspondent] Veniamin Georgievich, the problem of "per-capita allocation" is oh-so-difficult! The story sets one's teeth on edge, how a prestigious building in the center of Kuybyshev was at one time illegally occupied by about a dozen-and-a-half leading officials, including three oblast ispolkom deputy chairmen and the (former) Oblast Komsomol first secretary.

[Afonin] Leading officials who have received apartments illegally, and who will not vacate them voluntarily, will be subjected to legal eviction proceedings. The party has handed down its decision on the behavior of these people: it was the decision of the Obkom Buro and the Kuybyshev party gorkom, that party leaders who have not moved out of their illegally-acquired apartments, to include the oblast ispolkom secretary and the (former) deputy chairman of the Kuybyshev gorispolkom—will be dismissed from the party.

The party obkom buro has appealed to the CPSU Central Committee with a request that party discipline be meted out to Ye. Muravyev, former Kuybyshev Party Obkom first secretary, for tolerating dishonesty in allocating housing in that building, in violation of the principles of social justice.

For violating the housing laws, party reprimands have been given to leading officials in Novokuybyshevsk and Zhigulevsk, and in Koshkinskiy and Privilzhskiy Rayons and others.

At the present stage of perestroyka, it is impossible to overestimate the effectiveness of workers' and social control groups. They began to show themselves not so long ago, and they felt very "chilly" about those who hide shortage goods under the counter, or who stonewall in the distribution of material goods. The make-up of such groups should be continually rotated, so that every worker could take part in ensuring strict adherence to

procedure in the distribution of material goods. This is very important for the affirmation of the social status of an individual: equal rights and equal responsibility, regardless of who it was that violated the law—an ordinary metal worker or a highly-placed government official.

Incidentally, the "legal" ten-year waiting period for housing—is also a social injustice. And here there are no practical measures to change the order of the queue. But by 1995 we shall increase introduction of housing two-fold.

It has been possible to change the fallacious tendency toward distribution of centralized assets. This year twice as many appropriations as in previous years have been directed toward building housing and socio-cultural-domestic projects. And production of consumer goods is expanding.

[Correspondent] When were you at the theater last? What new books have you read?

[Afonin] I saw Zhatrov's play, "Further... Further... Further..." not long ago. I've read Platonov's "Kotlovyan" [The Foundation Pit] and "Chevengur." It would not be bad if everyone were to follow the example of the principal hero of "Kotlovyan": "Whoever has a party card in his britches must constantly be concerned that that there is labor enthusiasm in his body."

[Correspondent] What is your attitude toward religion?

[Afonin] I am a confirmed atheist. But I believe it would be worthwhile for some of us to learn from the church, mercy and compassion for those around us.

[Correspondent] And what do you think about sports?

[Afonin] At one time I was a first-class volleyball player, skier and chess-player. I love hockey and soccer. Incidentally, the Kuybyshev "Krylyshki" were at one time a perpetual "stumbling block" for the best clubs in the country; we'd like to resurrect that tradition...

[Correspondent] Have you perhaps found a hobby, Veniamin Georgievich?

[Afonin] If you only knew how much I would like to sit on the Volga with a fishing rod! Somehow or other, I've been a fisherman since before the war. But—I don't have the time.

[Correspondent] What is your attitude toward humor?

[Afonin] I hope I'm on intimate terms with it. It helps very much in tough situations. For example, at one of our current pre-election meetings I was asked, "What were you doing during the stagnation period?" "I did not stand still," I replied. "And here I shall apply all my strength to bring Nevinnomyssk out of the 'standstill

position,' where in 'those' years, 0.6 square meters of living space per person was introduced per year; whereas in Kuybyshev it is still only half as much. There we have solved the problem with kindergartens, clubs, and sports complexes; and here there are still a 'million' problems."

[Correspondent] When we were preparing for this conversation, I kept you on the telephone at the obkom until midnight and after midnight. Does this happen often?

[Afonin] I try to structure my work-time in a 14 or 15-hour day. What can I do? I don't have a magic wand.

**People's Deputy Kiev Obkom Chief on Election, Chernobyl Economy**  
*18000821 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 13 Apr 89 p 3*

[Interview with Grigoriy Ivanovich Revenko, Kiev Party Obkom first secretary, USSR people's deputy, by SOVETSKAYA KULTURA correspondent O. Gusev : "The Dignity of Each is Everyone's Property"]

[Text] Our interlocutor today is G.I. Revenko, Kiev Party Obkom first secretary. Elected a USSR people's deputy, he received 76.8 percent of the votes in Belotserkovskiy Electoral Okrug No 470. Our discussion concerns some of the lessons from the elections.

[Correspondent] To be frank, Grigoriy Ivanovich, were you sure of a favorable outcome for you personally in the elections?

[Revenko] I think that you will not find any candidate who did not experience doubts before the start of and during the pre-election struggle. I am no exception. I worried, grew weary, and sometimes became upset, but, of course, I did not lose hope. I felt keenly that, perhaps, for the first time people will vote not for one or another high office, an official, but for a live, specific person with all of his merits and weaknesses, pluses and minuses. Here, you no longer brush aside displays of sympathy and antipathy as being, they say, irrelevant. In such a struggle, by the way, you also discover more about yourself.

At first, six of us were aspirants: a plant director, a shop chief, a kolkhoz chairman, and two servicemen. Several collectives, in different rayons of the Kiev area, gave me their trust. I consider this a great honor and an advance for the future. I agreed to go on the ballot for Belotserkovskiy Okrug, knowing that this oblast is the most populous and that there are many difficult problems here. I was elected a USSR Supreme Soviet deputy in this okrug 2 and one-half years ago. So, I already have some experience and an idea of how to go about solving the imminent tasks in the region. The voters know about my plans for these actions—I met many of them at work, in clubs, stores, and even at home. If I had changed okrugs at such a critical moment, having counted on deputy assistance, people might have decided that I was

try to find an easier way for myself. In the rayon, particularly in a solid industrial center like Belya Tserkov, it was important for me to hear how my work to execute the voters' orders was rated in local areas.

You are now guessing that there was no complete certainty of success in the elections. Therefore, I went to the pre-election meeting as though to a unique contest of programs, with a mandatory verification of the consistency of words and actions in the near future. What is tricky, there have been many good promises before, many believed them, yet people were often unable to verify how the promises were being fulfilled. I expect demand to be far stricter now.

[Correspondent] Did you personally promote yourself?

[Revenko] Not at first, although, understandably, I did have such opportunities, but did not use them, up until the okrug meeting held 1 week before the elections. I did not want to hear reproaches to the effect that the "first" is pushing all the levers and "cutting off the oxygen" for his competitors. I decided to register as a candidate deputy in only one okrug, so that conditions would be equal for all candidates. An identical number of pre-election posters was provided for all aspirants in the Kiev area. I will admit, there were well-wishers who advised me not to be shy about defining their circulation: "After all, this is, they say, for the prestige of the office and even of the entire obkom." I had to insist that no attempts to artificially restrict the agitation opportunities for all aspirants would be tolerated.

[Correspondent] Yet, nonetheless, you remained the only candidate on the list...

[Revenko] Yes. However, I do not consider this the norm: the feeling of a certain endlessness arises among the voters, and soil is created for various kinds of rumors. Both before the elections, and now, I was and am certain that we must do away with the single-mandate election practice forever. After all, in places where they ensured the "singleness" of candidates too zealously, they also often waited for failure: people voted not against the candidate's personality, but against the relapse into administrative-command mores. This, it seems, is one of the lessons of fearing for the authority of the body which the named candidates represent. This is one of the mistakes, which inadvertently leads to undermining the authority of these bodies. Therefore, I am firmly in favor of introducing appropriate corrections in the Law on Elections.

[Correspondent] Well, should an official leader, for instance, the obkom first secretary or the ispolkom chairman, without fail be put on the ballots in outlying areas where he is less well known, but for the same reason the apparatus has somewhat greater possibilities for "organizing" the requisite number of votes, putting the former pseudo-election "mechanism" into operation?

[Revenko] However, you are not concealing the real reasons for such "reconnaissance," in the first place—the decline of authority in an environment where they know you by your work, not by a "high-sounding" title—from people.

[Correspondent] What is the essence of your pre-election platform?

[Revenko] My program proceeds not only from the political platform of the CPSU and the ideas of the 19th All-Union Party Conference, supported by the people, but also from my interaction and meetings with people, from interpreting what they said, in the name of making our life better for everybody.

It has three important parts. I do not support the commonly existing viewpoint that a candidate should be exclusively a parliamentarian. Also, I am against the idea of deputies taking care only of their own okrugs. The person elected by the people is obligated to see the whole range of union-wide problems, as well as tasks in the region. They asked me: how does one person cope with this? I answered the voters frankly: do not expect me, as the potential holder of the deputy mandate, to "petition" for the solution of oblast problems. After all, it is unethical and harmful to try to withdraw, even with a plausible excuse, someone's resources for "one's own" oblast. A future deputy must solve an okrug's problems strictly within the framework of social justice with regard to union-wide interests. To my great satisfaction, people supported these ideas. They also understand that a deputy's task is to prove to the body of higher power that "his" okrug lags behind others in some areas and really needs additional resources, which the deputy would want to re-direct to the okrug, not through the pressure of his authority, but with persuasive arguments and scientific analysis.

[Correspondent] So, it is a question of the social defense of a large region through the deputy's efforts?

[Revenko] Yes, of course. However, I repeat, a deputy should be and remain not a pusher, but a political leader, closely tied to the people, living with their interests, representing the voters' interests at the Congress or in the USSR Supreme Soviet.

In speaking of these levels—union-wide, oblast, and regional—of my own program in meetings with voters right now as well, I set the need to ensure the supremacy of the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR in work as a main priority. Above all, the status of this Congress must be defined, and large problems which can and should only be solved in the Congress, must be "taken out" of ministerial offices. These problems, concern the fates of the country, the people, i.e., things which cannot and should not be solved by departments. If we had had this body earlier, I am sure, there would

never have been attempts to reverse rivers, or the occurrence of dead seas. We would never have spoken of "Afghanistan," or of the Chernobyl AES [Nuclear Power Plant] between rivers, dangerously close to Kiev.

We would also not have raised questions of reviving the countryside: there would have been no practical need for this, if not for the obtrusive arbitrariness of the ministries and departments, which developed the big cities, and there would have been no outflow of population from the Black Earth Zone or Kiev area. In my opinion, henceforth only the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR should "personally" solve the entire knot of problems, formerly considered departmental, precisely in the name of the relentless struggle against departmentalism. The main thesis of my program is to grant full power to the soviets. I think that precisely the soviets and their deputies, not the apparatus of the ispolkoms, the way it is now, should receive real power. In forming the future deputy corps, I think we should give the local soviets real economic levers and actual independence from the diktat of the departments and the powerful enterprises and organizations located in their territory. That is, we must take local power out of the present state of financial poverty and degradation. After all, today the annual budget of rural or settlement soviets often does not exceed 1,000 rubles, not even enough to repair a bridge, put a cemetery to rights, or offer material assistance to the especially needy.

The departments do not pay the rural soviets of the territory where they locate their plants and factories for the land, and do not compensate for the damage inflicted on nature by the enterprises, even though these enterprises have multi-million profits. Should this really go on any longer? Therefore, for instance, in discussions in the Congress on the future law on local self-management, I will vote both for just social defense for individual citizens, as well as for genuine economic independence and real economic levers for local soviets. In discussing the status of the Congress, I think we must strengthen these positions and shape them into amendments to the USSR Constitution.

[Correspondent] How do you propose to struggle against the various kinds of shortages?

[Revenko] The constant shortages, empty store shelves, and tiresome lines deeply disturb me, like everyone else. However, I relate them not at all to the new methods of economic management and the independence of labor collectives, advanced by the economic reform, but once again mainly to the weakness of local bodies and to shortcomings in the practical execution of the reforms. It is a matter of the incompetence and unwillingness of some leading cadres to restructure themselves both in local areas, as well as in Gosplan and Minfin, of severely shaken discipline, of the continuous confusion in material and technical support, of unfair prices, and of the corrosive rust of bureaucratism.

That is why, as a deputy, I will support an unswerving observance of the Law on the State Enterprise, and the introduction of new amendments in it which will not tolerate the diktat and profit of departments or the unfair redistribution of the earnings. The conduct of real cost-accounting, which makes hard-working and initiative-minded people wealthier, must be demanded from the government and the ministries.

I am sure that it is possible to conquer the sluggishness and resistance of the apparatus to new things, once it is made directly dependent on cost-accounting. We must achieve the dismissal of those endowed with power, who already today flout the Law, passed only yesterday. We are all tired of the lines, and are suffering great losses from accidents, from unsuitable machines and goods, foolish instructions, poor medical care, and the poor education of our children. I relate all of this directly to the depreciation of professionalism and the equalization of wages for workers, specialists, and administrators.

We all want to have better medical care, as well as better education, goods, and advanced scientific ideas. So why is it that the labor of the people capable of this is being rated for the time being according to an ordinary standard in many ways? We must not spare money for good minds, talent, gifted hands.

[Correspondent] However, others work without making much effort, and receive the full measure...

[Revenko] Yes, quite unfortunately, this happens. Today, the numerous cases of social injustice and deafness to the needs of the specific individual most of all disunite and embitter people. I see this situation in two planes: I single out that which we ourselves must do locally—not tolerating the unjust distribution of housing and goods or granting various undeserved social benefits "by rank"—from that which all of us, including deputies, must solve on state scales. I believe that some of these problems can be solved more rapidly. As everyone knows, we still have many poor people. The constant, albeit disguised, growth in prices unsettles their lives even more. I also think that the state owes women a great deal, and should not permit them to work in places where this contradicts the requirements of social justice, as well as, finally, purely biological laws.

The dignity of each is everyone's property. It is our national wealth and must not be filled through those sums gained by employing women in labor sections or by forcing them to work relatively soon after bearing a child. The ephemeral nature of such income, it would seem, is as obvious as the damage to the economy and to morale from their and their children's overstrained health. Nonetheless, 38,000 women are employed in heavy or harmful work in the Kiev area alone, and if this is calculated on state-wide scales, the count would be in the millions.

Therefore, as a deputy, I will persistently propose cardinal changes in legislation on women's labor, particularly to increase the duration of paid maternity leave to up to 3 years, especially showing concern for young families and for protecting elderly people in the social and material sphere. Today, there must be particular concern about pensions and aid for the elderly, increasing student stipends, and passing new, more equitable housing legislation. All Soviet people, without exception, must be given the opportunity to live like human beings.

I also assess the situation in the countryside as critical, unable to support delay. Only the most radical measures will help solve it.

Above all, I see the means for this in halting the construction of resource-intensive projects which are not of prime necessity, which the oblast does have, and in decisively reducing the administrative links and their apparatus and offices, which are not only paid for dearly by the country and every one of us, but also bind any initiative, from the top to the very bottom, as well as in further reducing our army and armaments, according to the new platform advanced by the CPSU.

[Correspondent] After the Chernobyl accident, people are calling the Kiev area a wounded oblast. Now, almost 3 years after the explosion in the fourth power block, not all of the refugees from the danger zone have found peace and comfort yet.

[Revenko] Indeed, we know about this in the obkom and obispolkom and are trying more rapidly to assist those who have fallen into misfortune.

Presenting the whole weight of the ecological problem in the oblast clearly, I see ways to eliminate the consequences of the Chernobyl AES accident not in meetings, but specifically in each enterprise, in each village, in each farm, in the need to treat the land, forest, water, and one's native home conscientiously, and to unite everyone's efforts in the struggle for our, if you wish, survival. Meanwhile, the programs developed for solving the ecological problems do not make sense. After deformation of the normal way of life in dozens of villages, where ecological limitations have been introduced, as before people suffer from radiophobia. This fear is understandable, but some scientists often only supercharge it, instead of popularly explaining that there is such-and-such danger in such-and-such rayon, and conversely.

They could say: a map of the radionuclear contamination of a number of oblasts in the Ukraine was recently published, which gives an objective picture of the consequences of the scattering of AES emission over large regions of the republic. Ukrgidromet, although also almost 3 years late, has nonetheless done useful work to expand glasnost on the consequences of the accident. However, today we must go further: maps of radioactivity for each rayon, as well as sectors in it, are needed.

[Correspondent] I know that you spent over 200 days on a business trip in the Chernobyl Rayon...

[Revenko] So it is, I was repeatedly convinced there that even the presence of a simple dosimeter can alleviate one's alarm. We must produce individual dosimeters and make them freely available for sale. However, I think we can radically change the situation, if conditions are created everywhere in the afflicted zone that do not generate people's particular worry about the possible consequences of the Chernobyl AES accident. This is not manipulation, but a real opportunity to lift the emotions and feelings of people, often caused by their incomplete knowledge of the radiation situation.

It is time to introduce the regular conduct, in an atmosphere of glasnost and with society's participation, of expert studies on the radiation situation in the Ukraine and the systematic publication of information in the press about the dynamics of diseases and their causes. It seems, a law is also required, which must hold people, guilty of concealing true information about the ecology and radiation levels in one or another region, responsible. We should oppose emotions with facts, if we want people to believe every word of a party or soviet official, of a scientist or physician, in short, of all the holders of "secrets" about that which should not be hushed up in any event. It seems, people are coming to this conclusion not only in Chernobyl or in Kiev Oblast. It should also lead to this partial determination: those who do not consider people's health and their requirements must not be kept as leaders.

Henceforth, obviously, we all should investigate situations like Chernobyl far more extensively. I am certain that we must without delay create a service in the country for rapid reaction to various kinds of extreme situations. It should operate not only with maximum speed and mobility, but also according to an efficient plan, calculated down to the details: from the rapid notification of high government leaders on a "hot line," to the immediate launching of landing forces to the site of the emergency. Really, of course, this service should be in a state of complete readiness around the clock, provided accordingly both with human resources, as well as with a material base which includes the most modern equipment.

[Correspondent] Do you think the Chernobyl tragedy influenced the election results?

[Revenko] Unquestionably. However, in a very unique way: people were convinced that they were not thrown into misfortune at the will of fate. The fact that the people of the Chernobyl zone objectively assessed the whole country's multi-billion aid, and also assessed it in the course of the election campaign which was held, cannot be left out of account. In this regard, I cannot help but mention the great success in the elections of N. Priymachenko, first secretary of the Polesskiy Party Raykom which, as everyone knows, is not far from

Chernobyl. More than 91 percent of the voters chose him. The secret of N. Priymachenko's success lies not so much in the official authority of the "first," who, incidentally, proved himself quite worthily and courageously during the Chernobyl events, as in the raykom secretary's genuine, sincere respect for people. Of course, this does not go unnoticed.

However, there are still plenty of problems. For instance, Slavutich is a small town, where more than 12,000 people already live now. I recall, at first the Chernobyl AES power engineers had some doubts: "whether or not to go there for permanent residence?" Many were worried: people did not know the truth about the city's ecological situation. Minzdrav and various USSR Minatomenergo organizations were slow to release full information and, after the interference of party agencies, are going back on their word.

[Correspondent] However, let us, Grigorii Ivanovich, address the past election campaign again. As a Kievan, you voted in the capital of the Ukraine and, apparently, also were troubled by the situation in which a number of city leaders ended up without deputy mandates.

[Revenko] Yes, the unexpectedness is always discouraging, the more so since I have known these officials for a long time to be honest, decent people, active communists, able to draw conclusions from any lesson, even the most severe. However, I think, there is no point in dramatizing the Kiev situation: a struggle is a struggle. It was won by those who did not ignore people's demands, who battled against mismanagement, constantly contacting people at their places of work, without a sensation or show, in short, who were always concerned about the effectiveness of their own civic position. Conclusions for further work in the same capacity—if, of course, those who lost the struggle did not give up their posts voluntarily—must be made rapidly: this is a requirement of life, this is the demand of the voters, including the communists, who will, unquestionably, raise their demands of the candidates and their programs in the upcoming elections to the local soviets.

[Correspondent] What was your strongest impression from the elections?

[Revenko] Perhaps, the people's broad, mass participation—85-90 and greater percent of the voters—in political work, of which elections are a part. The people, having not elected some of the candidates presented in proud solitude, nonetheless voted for most of the candidates nominated by party, soviet and Komsomol organizations as being people who advance restructuring through personal contribution.

#### Ukrainian CP Central Committee Assesses Work of Mass Media

18001099a Kiev *PRAVDA UKRAINY* in Russian  
13 Apr 89 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Press Conference in Ukrainian CP Central Committee"]

[Text] Analysis of the progress being made in the restructuring processes, the present-day ideological situation in this republic, and the work of the press comprised the principal topic of a press conference for the leading officials of the republic-level mass media, which was held yesterday, 12 April in the Ukrainian CP Central Committee.

In opening this conference, Yu.N. Yelchenko, Politburo member and secretary of the Ukrainian CP Central Committee, emphasized that the press, television, and radio occupy an active position in elucidating the most important political campaigns and the progress being made in solving socioeconomic problems in this republic. However, it does not always succeed in fully utilizing its own potentials. Certain editors have proved to be unprepared for new, non-standard turns in sociopolitical life; they have lagged behind the development of events and have not always taken a principled, party stance in evaluating negative phenomena and extremist, nationalistic manifestations. We have encountered instances of ideological vagueness, inconsistency of certain published items in elucidating the so-called "blank spots" in our history, in discussing the draft program for the Ukrainian movement, etc.

In his speech at the press conference, S.I. Gurenko, Politburo candidate member and secretary of the Ukrainian CP Central Committee, dwelt on the tasks of the press's elucidation of social topics and problems of the radical economic reform. Particular attention was devoted to propagandizing the materials of the March (1989) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. Moreover, emphasis was laid on the necessity of moving away from stereotypes, retelling, or illustrations of the Plenum's decisions, of establishing constant, journalistic, monitoring controls on their implementation, along with effective support of progressive experiments within the agro-industrial complex and in other sectors of the national economy.

It was recommended that the editorial collectives pay more attention to a multi-faceted elucidation of the activity of labor collectives, the role played by the Soviets of People's Deputies in solving the problems of local life, critical analyzing the acute questions arising during the course of perestroika, and providing a fundamental, objective evaluation of everything which is hindering our forward progress.

At the press conference stress was placed on the issues of journalists' responsibility for political balance, party principles, and the ideological accuracy of published and

broadcast items. It is impermissible when someone, by covering up with slogans about democracy and a pluralism of opinions, disinform people and states opinions which run counter to the party line on perestroyka.

Answers were given to questions from participants in the press conference.

**Ukrainian CP Central Committee Examines  
Political Work in Restructuring Economy**  
18001099b Kiev *PRAVDA UKRAINY* in Russian  
14 Apr 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "In the Ukrainian CP Central Committee"]

**[Text] The Politburo of the Ukrainian CP Central Committee examined the question of intensifying the organizational and political work on deepening perestroyka in this republic's economy and social sphere.**

It was noted that the work being conducted by the party committees, soviet and economic organs, and public organizations with regard to implementing the decisions of the 27th party congress, the ensuing Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee, and the 19th party conference is exerting a targeted influence on the increase of working people's political and labor activity, as well as on the character and the depth of the transformations in the economy and the social sphere. The management style is being restructured everywhere; the emphasis is being placed on developing democracy and glasnost, as well as on firming up the principles of self-government on the production line.

Party committees are concentrating their activity on politically ensuring perestroyka, strengthening the role played by the primary party organizations in implementing the positions of economic reform. Under its influence a turn is being made toward a more active utilization of good-quality, intensive factors of economic growth, and a more stable operating style for the base sectors of industry. With respect to the most important indicators, this republic has come up to the level of the five-year plan. Since the beginning of the five-year plan, the entire increase in industrial, agricultural, and construction output, as well as the entire addition to the national income, has been achieved by means of labor productivity. There has been a rise in the level of fulfilling contractual obligations with regard to product deliveries. Savings on resources were more by a factor of 1.6 than had been provided for by the plan calculations and more than had been saved during the entire previous five-year plan.

The economy is being rekeyed to solving social problems. There has been an increase in the proportion of the consumption fund within the national income. In industry an outstripping development of consumer-goods production has been provided for. In order to build housing

and other socio-cultural facilities, use is being made of state capital-investment funds in amounts greater than provided for by the five-year plan.

Nevertheless, it was emphasized that the economic reform has not yet begun to operate under a full head of steam. The economic levers and incentives for developing the initiative and potentials of the labor collectives, for accelerating scientific and technical progress, and improving product quality have not yet begun to work. Nor has the state of affairs in these matters improved during the current year, when all the sectors of material production have already converted to cost accounting and self-financing. Economic managers are not paying sufficient attention to improving intra-production, economic relations, introducing leasing, contractual, and other progressive forms of labor organization. The scale of expanding the more resultative, second model of cost accounting has remained extremely insignificant.

It was noted that the leading officials and apparatus of many ministries and departments are restructuring their own work too slowly. They are continuing a petty supervision of the sub-departmental enterprises and organizations; and they interfere in their operational-economic activity. Their attention was drawn to the need for decisively rooting out the vicious practice of stepping up the intensity of the plan at year's end, of not allowing unjustified deviations from the assigned tasks of the five-year plan, to fully carry out the conclusion of contract agreements for product deliveries in 1989.

It was recommended that this republic's ministries and departments react effectively to existing facts when economic managers achieve an improvement in the financial status of their enterprises and an increase in their gross indicators by means of the price factor and shifts in their assortments, that they adopt measures to restore health to the national economy, reduce the budget deficit, and ensure the outstripping growth of labor productivity in comparison with wages.

Despite the fact that for three years of the five-year plan a substantial increase has been provided for the procurement of grain, sunflower seeds, meat, milk, eggs, and a number of other types of agricultural products, and there has been an increase in the output of food products by enterprises of the processing and food industries, the demand of the population, particularly for meat and certain dairy products, is not being satisfied.

It was pointed out to the UkrSSR Gosagroprom, as well as to the local party, soviet, and economic organs, that they are not fully utilizing the potentials of the new economic forms and methods for ensuring the accelerated development of the agro-industrial complex, the rapid increase of food resources, and that tolerate instances of mismanagement and a lack of responsibility among managers and specialists at a number of enterprises. A great deal of attention was paid to the problems of substantially improving matters in capital construction.

It was noted that the plans for three years of the five-year plan and the first quarter of this year with respect to introducing fixed capital were not fulfilled. The number of construction projects has been reduced too slowly, and the volumes of unfinished construction are increasing. Many enterprises and facilities are being built according to obsolete plans. The need was pointed out to step up attention everywhere to the construction and repair of housing, clubs, and palaces of culture, the material-technical base for health care, as well as facilities whose introduction will ensure a growth in the production of consumer goods and rendering services to the population, along with restoring health to the ecological environment.

It was noted with particular concern that, despite the fact that the plans for goods turnover for 1988 and the first quarter of the current year were fulfilled, the situation in the marketplace remains complicated. The plans with regard to output of consumer goods which were adopted by enterprises for the current year were lower than the control figures. There has been no reduction in the flow of complaints concerning their quality and assortment. The rise in average retail prices on consumer goods has caused justifiable dissatisfaction among the population. There has not been any radical change in the increase of volumes of everyday and other paid services; the level of providing such services to the population has not reached even half the optimal norm.

In order to eliminate these shortcomings, it was recommended that the local Soviets of People's Deputies restructure their work more actively, fully utilize their rights to provide for the comprehensive economic and social development of the regions involved. The ispolkoms of the local soviets and the financial organs were assigned the task of also intensifying their attention to questions of organizing cooperatives, directing their activities at solving social problems in accordance with the existing laws.

Also indicated was the need to step up influence on the part of the deputy chairmen of the UkSSR Council of Ministers, as well as the leading officials of the Gosplan, Ministry of Finance, Goskomtrud, Goskomstat, Goskomtsen, and the republic-level banks to solve an entire complex of socioeconomic problems, and to implement a radical economic reform.

It was recommended that the UkSSR Council of Ministers Presidium commission for improving the economic mechanism more effectively monitor the work being done on implementing the general scheme for administering the national economy and reducing the number of employees in the administrative apparatus.

It was noted that many party committees have been dragging out the restructuring of their own work, splitting their functions with soviet and economic organs, and not focusing their attention on the key trends of economic reform; they have been too slow in converting

to political methods of leadership. Certain party obkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms are not yet vigorous enough in monitoring the progress being made in production-economic education; they continue to tolerate a low level of economic training for a significant portion of managers and specialists; they make insufficient use of progressive experience in developing intra-production cost accounting, leasing and contractual relations.

It was recommended that the mass media be more objective and clear in elucidating the progress being made in economic reform and the processes of improving the economic mechanism, that they pay more attention to analyzing the socioeconomic consequences of the transformations taking place, and that they be more active in popularizing progressive experience.

The Central Committee Politburo assigned to the party obkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms the task of profoundly analyzing the progress being made in carrying out the decisions adopted with respect to the questions of political leadership in carrying out the economic reform, the entire complex of socioeconomic tasks, and, in case of necessity, implementing additional measures with regard to radically improving this work. They should enhance the vanguard role, businesslike quality, and responsibility of the primary party organizations for implementing the party's economic strategy, strengthen the demands made on communist-managers for the state of affairs in the operational sectors assigned to them, and accord a political assessment to manifestations of inertia and passivity in carrying out perestroika in the economy and the social sphere.

It was proposed that the party committees and primary party organizations be given the particular task of monitoring the ideological and personnel implementation of the solution of each of the most important economic and political problems.

It was recommended that the Presidium of the UkSSR Council of Ministers, when examining the results of the work done during the first quarter of this year on perestroika in this republic's economy and social sphere, draw the particular attention of the leading officials of the ministries and departments, obispolkoms, associations, enterprises, and organizations to the importance of the top-priority solution of the problems of improving the provision of food to the population, filling the market with consumer goods, restoring fiscal health to the national economy, and strengthening the monetary circulation, as well as solving the housing problem, improving the working people's health care, and safeguarding the environment. They must increase the effectiveness of the economic reform in all spheres of the national economy, based on the multiple forms of ownership, the use and disposal of property, the widespread dissemination of progressive experience, and the elimination of existing shortcomings. They should channel the efforts of the obispolkoms and their GlavPEU's [Main Planning and Economic Administrations] into

developing new forms of economic integration of production facilities, the establishment of inter-sectorial associations and organizations, better use of capacities and resources for producing consumer goods, and the determined reduction of uninstalled equipment at enterprises.

**Tajik First Secretary Makhkamov Speech on Agrarian Policies**

*18300635 Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 7 May 89 pp 1-2*  
[Unattributed report: "On the Tasks of the Party Organizations in the Republic To implement the Decisions of the CPSU Central Committee March (1989) Plenum 'On Party Agrarian Policy under Present Conditions.' The Report of Tajik Communist Party Central Committee First Secretary K.M. Makhkamov"]

[Text] The latest regular plenum of the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee, the speaker noted, was devoted to one of the most important questions of life in the republic. In light of the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee March (1989) Plenum it is necessary to conduct an in-depth and comprehensive analysis of the complex, multiple-level problems concerning radical transformations in the agrarian sector, and to determine the main tasks and directions of work by party, soviet and economic organs in effecting radical perestroyka in our agroindustrial complex.

The CPSU Central Committee plenum moved to the forefront the main sociopolitical task, namely, in the most immediate future to blunt the acuity of the food problem and during the 13th Five-Year Plan move forward to a situation in which the public's demand for foodstuffs is satisfied on a stable basis.

This is a general party and general state task and we must focus all party political, organizational, ideological and economic work and the efforts of party and soviet organs and the trade unions and Komsomol on solving it.

We must all be clearly aware that in this regard Tajikistan is in a very difficult position, and if we do not engage in energetic and effective measures it will become even more complicated as the republic switches to self-management and self-financing.

It is common knowledge that present production volumes for foodstuffs are not meeting demand from the republic's population. Despite the subsidies received from all-union funds, in terms of consumption levels Tajikistan occupies one of the last places in the country.

What are the reasons for such a tense situation with regard to supplies of foodstuffs for the population?

They are first and foremost that growth rates in the production of foodstuffs are lagging significantly behind population growth. Thus, last year, compared to 1982, when the republic Food Program was adopted, absolute

production in all categories of farms rose as follows: meat 15 percent, milk 11 percent, eggs 68 percent, potatoes 14 percent, vegetables 34 percent, melons 35 percent.

But during this period the numerical strength of the population increased more than 20 percent, and in rural areas the figure was 22 percent or more.

Due consideration must also be given to the shortage of arable land, even though compared to 1982 it has been increased 11 percent. This is why it has been decided that all growth on new irrigated areas, and also on the part freed up from cotton, should be used to produce food crops.

But a great deal also depends on us ourselves. Let us be candid and self-critical. Questions of building up the production last year and the year before were considered at meetings of the republic party and economic aktiv and at the beginning of this year at a Central Committee plenum. It is clear that not everyone drew conclusions from the criticism voiced there. If we thoroughly analyze how the outlined decisions were implemented then it can be seen immediately that by no means everything that could have been done was done. I think that there is no need to cite examples. Take the yield from agricultural crops and productiveness in livestock farming; they are not growing, and in some places are even declining. In short, in the switch of agricultural production to intensive methods we have still achieved no major advances.

All of this to some degree characterizes the work of party, soviet and agricultural organs, farms managers and specialists and the primary party organizations in the countryside.

Our main task is to achieve a sharp rise in the return from land resources and achieve preferential growth in the production of foodstuffs relative to population growth. This problem is also acquiring special importance in connection with the perestroyka effected in the leadership in the economic and social spheres in the all-union republics on the basis of extension of their sovereign rights and self-management and self-financing.

It is common knowledge that the CPSU Central Committee March Plenum not only drew up party agrarian policy at the present stage but also defined a strategy for its realization. Its main provisions were set forth in M.S. Gorbachev's report, and specific directions are contained in the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium ukase "On Leasing and Leasing Relations in the USSR," and in the USSR Council of Ministers decrees "On Improving Supplies of Food for the Country's Population on the Basis of Radical Improvements in Efficiency and the Further Development of Agroindustrial Production," "On Radical Perestroyka in Economic Relations and Management in the Country's Agroindustrial Complex," and "On a Program for the Social Development of the Countryside."

The most important legal and organizational principle in this strategy is recognition that forms such as organizations of leaseholders, cooperatives of leasing collectives, and peasant and personal subsidiary farming stand on an equal footing with the kolkhozes and sovkhozes and the processing enterprises.

Here, a decisive switch to leasing is regarded as a form of cost-accounting relations that best combines the interests of citizens, enterprises and society in general and makes it possible to create conditions in which the divorce of the peasantry from the land and other means of production is eliminated.

The strategy for improving supplies of the most important food products for the country's population includes a whole series of measures to build up food resources and a concomitant improvement in planning and cost-accounting relations and the creation of a coordinated price system, development of the material-technical base, accelerated scientific and technical progress and social development in the countryside.

Thus, resolution of the food problem is underpinned by a system of economic, social and organizational prerequisites for efficient work by all elements of the agro-industrial complex and their responsibility for and interest in final results.

If we talk about the forthcoming development of the republic food complex then in 7 years, that is by 1995, compared to 1988 it is intended to increase milk production 36 percent, milk production by a factor of 1.5, vegetables by a factor of 1.8, potatoes by a factor of 2.2 and fruits and grapes by a factor of 2.6. This is considerably higher than all-union development rates in the food sectors. But this kind of growth will also insure the advance to self-sufficiency in accordance with the diet norms only for vegetables and potatoes.

The calculations show that given present population growth and the limited nature of the land, our opportunities, even supposing we make maximum use of land and achieve a very high level of intensification, will not make it possible to meet republic demand for livestock farming produce in accordance with the recommended norms. And the recommended per capita level of consumption for our republic for 1995 is 64 kilograms of meat products. In our calculations for this year the figure used is 33 kilograms. Note that this is with a 1.5 times increase in the production of meat. For dairy products the figure envisaged by the norm is 253 kilograms and by our calculation it is 155 kilograms. What is the solution?

Taking into account the limited nature of our land areas it seems expedient to look for ways to increase the output of livestock farming produce in land areas outside the republic. We have adequate manpower. Obviously there are grounds for asking the RSFSR to lease the republic 15,000 or 20,000 hectares of land in one of its oblasts where land is not being worked so as to grow mainly

fodder crops there, and perhaps also seed potatoes to create a base for family potato growing with virus-free varieties; and I would like to know your opinion of this.

Labor can be organized on a shift method, as is now done by oil workers, that is, when some of the workers from particular kolkhozes or sovkhozes or groups of leaseholders travel out for a season and return when the season is over.

If this approach is acceptable then the republic Council of Ministers should already now start to deal with this matter so that next year we can turn to practical implementation of the matter, orienting ourselves on each of our rayons with surplus manpower having one or even two sovkhozes there.

It is essential to accelerate the rate of implementation of a horticultural and viticultural program because even with the great opportunities for development, these sectors remain a very weak element of the food complex and supplies of fruit and grapes for the republic's population will still be one-fourth behind demand even in 1995.

There is no justification for the unsatisfactory situation that exists in the development of horticulture and viticulture. The fact is that for a long time this problem has not been afforded the significance that it deserves. And the result is that even according to the calculations our southern republic will not be self-sufficient in fruit and grapes within the time period set for the country as a whole.

In the process of refining the program to supply the population with foodstuffs through the year 2000 we must once again weigh all the opportunities available to us in all the food sectors. This is a fundamental question.

The speaker went on to deal with problems in the agrarian sector. Each year considerable funding is allocated for its development, and what is the return? For example, over the past 10 years, with a growth factor of 1.6 in fixed capital and increasing deliveries of equipment, mineral fertilizers and other resources, in Leninabad Oblast gross agricultural output has grown only 11 percent; in Khatlonskaya Oblast the figure 25 percent, and in the Gorno-Badakshan Autonomous Oblast it has even declined. For the republic as a whole during this period average annual output growth has been almost four times lower than growth rates in its material-technical base.

The declining return from allocated resources has become a constant negative factor. Obviously centralized capital investments allocated in all previous years, whose importance has been much underestimated, has affected this since in general funding has been from the state budget.

Here is just example of a thoughtless attitude toward state funds (that is, toward the national good).

Several years ago a turkey-rearing battery with an annual capacity of 1,000 tons was commissioned. During the planning for the plant the Tadzhikgiprostroy Institute set up the slaughter shop for a capacity of 7,500 tons of poultry instead of 1,000, proceeding from the opportunities available to the enterprise. It takes about 50 people per shift just to maintain that shop. And the plant has a total of 260 people. Naturally, since the time that construction of the shop was completed it has not been operated, and it has fallen into disrepair, while the slaughtering of the turkeys is done in sanitary abattoir.

The question that arises is this: by what were the specialists at the institute guided when they set up a standard plan that was seven times greater than the capacity of the plant? How was it that the client permitted this kind of mismatch in the plan, and that the construction workers and managers in Tadzhikptitse-prom and the rayon accepted it? If funding for the construction had come not from the budget but from the assets of the farm itself, this would not have happened.

This, unfortunately, is not an isolated example.

Now, in the new conditions, when these funds must be earned by organizations themselves, the approach to capital investments will undoubtedly be different.

Of course, state capital investments will be needed in the future. First and foremost to build up capacities to process agricultural produce and store and transport it. It is precisely because of the lagging in matters of storage and processing that we are now losing much valuable produce.

In the developed countries farming is engaged directly in the production of agricultural produce and marketing it. They do not worry their heads about subsequent grading, processing, packaging, storage and transport, which are done by other people providing services for agriculture whose numerical strength is significantly greater than the agricultural producers. But here in the republic we have the opposite situation: for every 25 people employed in producing agricultural output there is only one person for processing, storage, transport and so forth. Hence the losses, which are colossal, the poor quality and the difficulties, which are many, in the marketing of output produced by rural workers.

The speaker paid much attention to the development of private subsidiary farming as a very important sphere in the use of peasant labor. Last year alone the 65,000 hectares of the private subsidiary land were supplemented by another additional 1,500 hectares of land, and new areas will also be allocated this year.

However, the reserves for increasing production on private subsidiary farms are far from exhausted. Accordingly, the March plenum recognized the need to restore the full rights of private subsidiary farming as one form that is an integral part of the system of socialist agriculture.

For in the total production of meat and vegetables and potatoes in our republic it now accounts for more than one-third of its volume, while for fruit and milk the figure is almost one-half. Here, the opportunities for further expansion should be borne in mind, first and foremost in livestock farming, if we take into account the fact that more than one-fourth of private subsidiary farms do not have cows, while half of them do not have small livestock. In this connection party and economic organs at the local level should conduct explanatory work and provide every possible assistance in developing and strengthening private subsidiary farming, in particular with fodder.

The efficient interaction of the different kinds of ownership is becoming one of the main tasks in improving the economic mechanism in the management of agroindustrial production.

It is precisely the cooperative organization of production at kolkhozes and sovkhozes and their associations that is creating the conditions required for the extensive development of leasehold relations, which constitute one of the most important and at this stage decisive, ways of changing ownership relations.

Leasing is also being much discussed here in the republic. Unfortunately, however, there is not always a sufficiently clear understanding of its essential nature. Leasing is often taken to be the usual, first and foremost the family, contract.

Today some work has been done to develop leasing on the basis of transferring nonarable and worthless land to individual leaseholders. There have also been advances in vegetable growing and fodder production on livestock farms. Entire kolkhozes and sovkhozes have switched to leasing. However, the scales are still too modest to talk about the extensive introduction of leasing relations.

It must be said that development of this progressive form has been held back largely not only by the inertia of the old way of thinking among some leaders and specialists, but also by the absence, until recently, of the necessary legal status for leaseholders.

Publication of the corresponding USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium ukase is also resolving this problem, even though a final law on leasing will be adopted later.

Experience shows that when land is transferred to leaseholders there is a sharp increase in yields from almost all crops, and cattle productivity improves. Last year, which was far from good in terms of weather, leaseholder

F. Urazov from the "Buston" sovkhoz in Dzhirgatalskiy rayon obtained 538 quintals of potatoes per hectare, more than doubling the average all-union level.

Leaseholder M. Kullayev from the "Leningrad" kolkhoz in Ordzhonikidzeabadskiy rayon planted vegetables over an area of 0.6 of a hectare and obtained 610 quintals instead of the 300 envisaged by the contract, and for the kolkhoz as a whole they obtained only 211 quintals of vegetables to the hectare.

Leaseholder T. Tursunov from the "Kommunizm" kolkhoz in Isfarinskiy rayon obtained 600 quintals of tomatoes from one hectare, much more than they are growing at the kolkhoz. And prime production costs per quintal was considerably lower than for the entire farm.

The advantage of leasing over other farming methods lies in the fact that in the final analysis it totally excludes unprofitable production. And this is particularly important for our republic. Despite some reduction in farms operating at a loss, in the agroindustrial complex for 69 sovkhozes alone the total loss last year amounted to almost R18 million.

It is quite clear that some time will be needed in order to put the new economic mechanism through its paces, and in this an important role will be played by changes in price policy, when equivalent exchange is established between agrarian and other sectors of the national economy, especially industry producing the means of production, and there will be definite changes in the relationship with the budget.

Government decisions provide for the creation of an interlinked system of purchase, wholesale and retail prices and the introduction already by 1990 of new purchase prices for agricultural output that will stimulate its production in zones favorable for agriculture.

The system of state orders is being improved in the same direction, and this will determine the switch to contractual relations for kolkhozes and sovkhozes with regard to the purchase of agricultural output.

It is proposed to make state orders profitable for the producer and to give him certain advantages in supplies of resources and guarantees of a stable market for his output, and it is envisaged that he will be given financial assistance in advance against future deliveries. It is envisaged that procurement organizations will have appropriate possibilities for this purpose. In this way the role of the procurement organizations will become decisive. And in this connection we must consider seriously the formation of the procurement system in the republic.

It is important here not to permit the manifestation of group egotism when, by taking advantage of his monopoly positive, if there are shortages a producer increases prices, with the consequences that stem from this. In such cases the local authorities must be given the right to

regulate maximum retail prices, which combined with holding state retail prices for two or three years for basic food products such as bread, flour, meat, fish, eggs, milk, sugar, and animal and vegetable fats, will to a large extent stabilize expenses in the family budget among all strata of the population and workers.

Bringing proper order to pricing during the course of radical perestroika in all aspects of the economic mechanism will undoubtedly exert a positive effect on the status of the entire agroindustrial complex, first and foremost on the economies of kolkhozes and sovkhozes and processing enterprises that are operating at a loss or with low profitability. However, this will not be enough to make them profitable.

For this what is needed is to be disengaged from the unwieldy and managerial apparatus, which is inflated beyond all measure, not only on the kolkhozes and sovkhozes but also at the rayon and even oblast levels, and the sooner the better, bearing in mind that from January 1991 the republic will be switching to full cost recovery [samookupayemost] and self-financing. Party, soviet and economic organs must even now be setting about resolving these tasks.

Giving due consideration to specific local features, it is essential to make use of the experience that has been gained in the country, including for this purpose the potential of industry and the other spheres of the republic's national economy.

Here, it is also necessary to decide the fate of sovkhozes in the mountainous regions that have no prospects of attaining self-financing, possibly by attaching them to large agricultural and industrial enterprises or transferring them to leaseholders or converting them into cooperative farms. The republic government and planning, financial and economic organs should already be working on these questions since otherwise the financial status of the agrarian sector can be called nothing but deplorable. Extended loans from the banks amount to about R153 million.

A special place in the report was devoted to management of the agroindustrial complex.

The March Plenum worked out a concept for the basis of management for agroindustrial production, stemming from the essential nature of the economic and political reform. The most important element in this concept is the priority of kolkhozes and sovkhozes and other economic structures in the main production wing, and the decisive switch to economic methods in management and to a sharp extension of the rights of the labor collectives.

In this connection the leadership of the rayon agroindustrial complex is being formed from the organs of state management into cost-accounting formations created by the workers themselves in the main production wing, on a strictly voluntary basis.

Abolition of the rayon agroindustrial association and the formation of cost-accounting management structures at the rayon level is already proceeding in the republic. Agroindustrial combines are operating in Khodzhentskiy and Pendzhikentskiy rayons, as is the "Kulyab" agrofirm, and preparations are under way to set up agrofirms in Kanibadamskiy, Isfarinskiy and Ura-Tyubinskiy rayons, and so forth.

The search is under way for new management forms for the rayon agroindustrial complex. But a certain caution and "wait-and-see" attitude can be sensed. On the other hand we cannot permit haste here, or hurried, ill-considered decisions.

When the viewpoint of local workers is being clarified the opinion is often expressed of the possibility of again transferring this matter to state institutions by setting up under the ispolkoms of local soviets of people's deputies an administrative-management superstructure for the main production wing. What is being displayed here is an obvious misunderstanding of the idea of the reform now under way, in which management should be transferred to the producers themselves by the democratic path of setting up cost-accounting organs.

The organization of cost-accounting management wings is not some tribute to fashion but an objective necessity to create, finally, a structure that is operated and controlled by the producers themselves. It is designed to provide an organizational link between agriculture and the processing industry and marketing of the final product, and to bring processing and storage closer to the production sites and establish mutually profitable production-technical backup and support.

Farms could also set up appropriate cost-accounting formations for repairs and the construction of production and social projects, and for transporting and marketing output. The possibility of forming management wings at the interrayon level, and even of setting up associations, is not excluded.

Without turning the work at this important stage of perestroika into the latest campaign, party, soviet and economic organs should provide effective help in selecting the forms of management that are best suited to the specific conditions of particular regions. Instead of the agroindustrial committees, elected self-managing organs are being set up in the oblasts—councils, societies, associations.

Their activity will be directed toward carrying out functions assigned to them on a voluntary basis by the cost-accounting associations and formations. They

should represent their interests in the ispolkoms of the oblast soviets of people's deputies and cooperate with the state procurement organizes to conclude contracts with kolkhozes and sovkhozes and other producers of agricultural output.

Delineation of the functions of the organs of the state authorities and economic management will be achieved by transferring to the oblast soviets the duties of monitoring observance of the law in matters of land use and the organization of land, veterinary services, quarantine matters, and output quality, and also the organization of state services to solve other problems.

In the formation of oblast management organs, however, there should be no stereotyping and copying. For every oblast has very significant differences in its economic potential and the structure of agroindustrial production and the conditions it which it is carried on.

Perhaps opinions vary greatest with regard to how the republic management organ should be set up. The CPSU Central Committee March Plenum, which followed the line of democratization, deemed it necessary to grant republics the right to choose for themselves, and this places a special responsibility on them.

During the course of preparations for this plenum various opinions were expressed. We should probably proceed first and foremost from general principles of perestroika in the management of the economy in the all-union republics, on the basis of extending their sovereign rights, self-management and self-financing.

There is no ready-made formula that can be applied today at the republic level. The Council of Ministers commission led by I.Kh. Khayeyev continues its work. We hope that those present at the plenum will express their ideas about the structure of management in the agroindustrial complex at the republic level.

The speaker went on to deal with questions of providing scientific support for the republic agrarian sector. Tajikistan's varied natural and climatic conditions, he noted, require more careful attention to the status of republic agrarian science. While being in a condition of departmental subordination for the last three decades, despite the various reorganizations it has, unfortunately, not achieved anything substantial.

There are many reasons for this. By no means the last of those reasons is the style of leadership established in the agrarian departments and the desire to use scientific forces to fulfill functions that are strictly speaking not theirs. Together with the Academy of Sciences the Tajik SSR Council of Ministers must review issues involving improvements in scientific support for the agroindustrial complex.

Developing the agroindustrial sector and solving food problems are a matter not only for rural workers, the speaker emphasized. Without help from the industrial ministries and departments it will be difficult for the enterprises to resolve these problems.

Take, for example, farms that are operating at a loss; there are 147 in the agroindustrial system. One way of eliminating this is to transfer them to large agricultural and industrial enterprises. Six sovkhozes operating at a loss have been transferred to the ministries. Four rayon fruit-and-vegetable trading organizations operating at a loss in Dushanbe and Kurgan-Tyube cities, and also a republic vegetables wholesale trade base, have been transferred to leasing, and cooperatives were organized to replace them.

Now no one else seems to want to take on farms that are operating at a loss. The industrial ministries and departments and the large enterprises that are simply obliged to have their own private subsidiary farms to produce foodstuffs are not paying proper attention to this matter.

How else can we explain the fact that 417 private subsidiary farms that have about 37,000 hectares of land, including 9,000 hectares of arable land, last year produced only 10,500 tons of vegetables, potatoes and melons, 1,700 tons of meat (live weight) and 1,740 tons of milk, with no increase in milk production?

In short, communists and leaders of ministries and departments (except for the Ministry of Grain Products and Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources) and enterprises of all-union subordination have neither the initiative nor the desire to make their contribution in solving the Food Program, nor to show concern for their own workers.

The transfer of farms operating at a loss to leasing is proceeding poorly. The local party and soviet organs are not coming to grips with these questions.

Enterprises in industry, construction and transport could significantly expand their links with the farms, providing various kinds of assistance, and in certain cases making loans available to them.

The Dushanbe "Tadzhiktekstilmash" Plant, the cotton association and some other enterprises had these kinds of links at one time. However, this fine undertaking for some reason has not been properly developed. Moreover, such contacts have become weaker in recent times.

We do not understand the attitude of urban leaders in this matter. For each enterprise should concern itself that the members of its collective are able to procure products for the winter and buy them at their own trading posts located right there at the enterprises. And indeed, the enterprises must also have adequate reserves for the needs of their own public catering.

The Dushanbe, Leninabad, Kurgan-Tyube and Kulyab party gorkoms and other party committees, jointly with the leadership of the suburban rayons, should renew this work. Each industrial enterprise should maintain permanent, firm and mutually advantageous links with the kolkhozes and sovkhozes.

This work should be led by the communists and trade union leaders of the corresponding cities, enterprises, kolkhozes and sovkhozes. The countryside needs the help of citizens as never before in the construction of livestock farmsteads, processing shops, roads, sociocultural projects and so forth.

We are still, however, not seeing initiative from the ministries and departments and city organizations. The sole exception is the "Tadzhikgidroenergostroy" Trust, which with its own resources is building a dairy farmstead in Gissarskiy rayon and making preparations to bring it on line in June. Unfortunately, no one is yet following it.

But this is not the first time that this issue has been raised. Comrades, how can we explain such indifference? Can it really be that some people are expecting the use of administrative-pressure methods and discussions, with appropriate conclusions?

It was noted in the report that the problem of surplus manpower has grown more acute in the republic. Thus, a year ago the republic Council of Ministers adopted a comprehensive program for the social restructuring of the countryside through the year 2000, which together with the implementation of a number of important measures provides for a lowering of the level of surplus manpower on the basis of creating additional work places in rural localities. One way of solving this very complicated question is to revive a number of populated points and restore agriculture in regions from where people were at one time resettling into the cotton-growing zones. There is no doubt that such a step was necessary because the question of the development of cotton growing in the country was acute, and because of this so was the question of opening up new irrigated land in unpopulated zones.

More than 3,000 kishlaks [Central Asian villages—ed], whose populations were producing tens of thousands of tons of grain, meat, vegetables, fruit and other produce, were resettled. This land is now being used very unproductively.

Surplus manpower is now available in the cotton-growing regions. It therefore seems essential to set up special commissions made up of people's deputies and the representatives of party and agricultural organs and the public, and of scientists who, after studying this matter, could offer sound proposals on resettling, of course on a purely voluntary basis, part of the population from zones with surplus manpower into the depopulated mountain kishlaks.

It goes without saying that this matter must be handled with great tact, without arbitrary methods, on the basis of well-considered approaches, making provision for the resettlers by creating the necessary social and everyday conditions and providing them with assistance in construction in zones safe with respect to geodynamic phenomena, and in providing services and amenities and reviving abandoned land. Of course, this should all be done at a modern level.

It is common knowledge that land reclamation work in the country is being subjected to serious and quite justified criticism, the speaker went on to say.

Suffice it to recall the catastrophic situation in the Aral Sea region, which has created definite complications in our republic. It has been necessary to conduct a full review of present water-use practice and devise a comprehensive program for severe economies in water resources, which in the long term will make it possible to reduce by one-fourth the consumption of water for irrigation.

The stressed situation in the republic agroindustrial complex and the growing shortage of irrigated land are presenting us with the need to concentrate material and financial resources to the maximum in order to implement this program as quickly as possible.

Along with the help from the all-union government we must make use of all available opportunities to mobilize internal reserves and recruit kolkhozes and sovkhozes and other interested organizations for the creation of an appropriate fund for decentralized capital investments and involve them extensively in the opening up of new land on a cooperative and shareholder basis.

Production intensification in irrigated zones requires special attention to ecological issues. Today we must cite instances in which because of irresponsible attitudes toward the ecology, along with the industrial, transport and construction enterprises, the agrarian sector has also become a major source of environmental pollution. Almost one-fourth of livestock farms in the republic have been sited near sources of supplies of drinking water. Because of the careless attitude of farm leaders and the lack of purification equipment at many farms, there are instances of effluent being discharged and polluting rivers and streams. Much of the blame lies with the planners and construction workers.

Naturally this evokes justified indignation among the population. On this plane we support the statements made by our journalists, scientists and figures from literature and the arts and representatives of the public, and the work of Tajik television. For example, according to television material on pollution of the Khanaka River, the Central Committee immediately set up a buro commission headed by a Central Committee secretary to take urgent steps to correct the situation in this zone.

At some farms there are violations of the elementary conditions for storage and of scientifically substantiated standards for the use of toxic chemicals and mineral fertilizers. For the republic overall only 263 kilograms of mineral fertilizers are needed per hectare of sown land. Essentially this is not much. It is important that the fertilizer be applied only strictly in accordance with the agrotechnical rules.

This applies in particular to vegetables and melon crops. Despite a number of steps taken to impose stricter conditions on the use of nitrogen in fields where food crops are growing, large amounts of nitrates are getting into vegetables and melon crops passed to the trade network and to public catering, or put into storage, where they quickly rot. This situation, first, affects people's health, and it does great moral and material damage. An end must be made to these practices. If it becomes necessary to change the laws, then the sooner the better.

At the same time managers and specialists at many farms are underestimating the important role of organic fertilizers. Tens of thousands of tons of organic fertilizers are being placed in manure storage facilities and at poultry farms and hog-raising complexes, worsening the ecological situation. Biological methods for plant protection are being introduced only slowly. Only 25 biological laboratories are operating in the republic. But last year just those laboratories were enough to reduce the use of pesticides by almost one-fourth compared to the preceding year.

I would like to draw your attention to another important matter for which we must today be thinking about a solution.

The fact is that at one time during the opening up of the Vakhsh valley, and indeed some other tracts in the republic, the construction of irrigation canals and residential developments took place in certain areas without adequate consideration of the local relief and the hydrogeological structure of the soil. As a result of this, on land located lower than the irrigation canals the level of the ground water has risen significantly in recent years.

Trees have started to die, the yields from agricultural crops have declined sharply, and many homes and cultural and everyday projects have been settling.

The present situation requires the adoption of urgent measures to save land and populated points in these areas. It would seem expedient at the same time to carry out hydrological-reclamation work and resolve as quickly as possible the question of lining the irrigation canals with concrete.

Party, soviet and economic organs must also think about how and where to relocate that part of the population living in zones where the ground water is high. This is the situation in Zafarobodskiy, Matchinskiy, Kanibadamskiy, Ashtskiy, Yavanskiy, Gissarskiy and certain other rayons.

Ecological problems must be solved on the basis of scientifically sound land reclamation and measures to preserve soil fertility, and through the use of integrated methods of plant protection in all sectors of agroindustrial production. A total ban should be imposed on the commissioning and operation of industrial, livestock farming and other projects in the agroindustrial complex when work on purification and other nature conservation installations has not been completed.

Strictly speaking, we should act in this way throughout the agroindustrial complex.

Together with the State Committee for the Protection of Nature and the scientific establishments in the republic, the management organs in the agroindustrial complex must be involved on an immediate basis in work on the ecological program and in implementing that program under conditions of glasnost and on a broad democratic basis.

We can see that the population's standard of living is beginning to depend increasingly on the ecological situation. But normalization here should be combined with solutions for the most important social problems of the countryside, where two-thirds of the population live.

Meanwhile, the number of such problems is growing and it must be recognized that there are many sore points here.

Radical changes are needed in all our work since only a strong social policy can impart a new quality to life in the countryside. Meanwhile, however, the normative provision of housing there is being satisfied only 50 percent. Most housing does not meet the provisions in terms of being earthquakeproof and does not have basic domestic conveniences. There is virtually no water-supply or sewage network, and where potable water is supplied it does not undergo sanitation processing and its sources are not kept free from pollution.

Major strengthening and reconstruction of the material-technical base is required for people's education and public health. One-third of schools and a significant proportion of buildings used by medical establishments are in an unsatisfactory condition, and there is a lack of sports and cultural enlightenment facilities and catering premises and shortages of textbooks and of medical equipment.

Infant mortality in the countryside is much higher than in the city. The provision of kindergartens and creches in rural localities is only 4 percent of the need, and there are shortages of premises for everyday and trade services. Notwithstanding, construction of these projects is proceeding only slowly.

The earthquakes in Kayrakkum and Gissar demonstrated the danger in preserving old buildings that do not meet the seismic requirements of the territory. For almost half of the houses in the countryside are not earthquakeproof. For this reason alone housing construction should be a priority.

The modern base for rural housing construction provided for in the USSR Council of Ministers decree on the cleanup following the earthquake in Gissarskiy rayon, capable of insuring variety in housing, should be formed at accelerated rates.

Not only centralized capital investments but also the assets of farms and of the population, and bank loans should be directed into housing construction. The necessary rate of construction can be achieved only given effective help for all construction workers and the broadest use of the economic method and individual construction. The Tajik SSR Gosstroy is obliged to lead this work and is called upon to deal first and foremost with the needs of the countryside.

Social development in rural locations is impossible without a well-organized road network. Construction of new roads and reconstruction of roads already in existence by laying hard surfaces on them is proceeding only slowly. Over the past 3 years only 25 kilometers have been brought into use. The status of roads used by vehicles inside farms is particularly unsatisfactory.

The local soviets of people's deputies are responsible for proper organization of the roads; the soviets are now becoming the real masters on their own territories.

It must be emphasized that in the social sphere much depends on the initiative of the farms themselves. We have fine examples of this. At the sovkhoz-tehnikum imeni Kuybyshev in Kommunisticheskiy rayon for some years in capital construction the priority has been given to social development. The farm recruits skilled construction workers on a mutually profitable basis. They have formed their own construction base there. There are brick and asphalt plants, and last year the farm also acquired the fixed capital of a bankrupt interkolkhoz construction organization. As a result, the sovkhoz construction complex is operating rhythmically and efficiently to the great advantage of the labor collective.

An apartment block with 90 apartments was recently commissioned there and another for 64 families is under construction, and in the settlement of Novabad that is

being built 20 families have already moved in and a school with 1,076 places has been built, along with a modern sports complex that includes an indoor swimming pool.

Road construction is extensive and the construction of a large water pipe that will provide potable water for all the populated points on this large farm is nearing completion. A great deal of new housing, a hospital, a kindergarten, another school with 1,600 places, a tea room and dining hall, a bathhouse, a boiler house and much else are planned.

Initiative and gumption do not allow the large income of the farm to lie idle; it is put into circulation to the palpable social good of those who work in the fields and farmsteads. It should become an example for Khatlon-skiy Oblast, whose kolkhoz accounts represent millions of rubles just lying in the banks.

The CPSU Central Committee March Plenum defined the main forms of party political work to implement the new agrarian policy at the present stage. The plenum warned that much stepped-up work lies ahead, both to explain its meaning and significance and with regard to the approach to the activity of party, soviet and economic organs. One very important feature here is the total rejection of power and pressure methods and the artificial urging on of perestroika in the countryside.

From 1991 the all-union republics will be switching to full self-management and self-financing. The draft of the concept has been published and a national debate has got under way. The essential thing here is first and foremost reliance on one's own efforts, opportunities, resources and sense of initiative among party, soviet and economic leaders and all workers.

Here, centralized planning will be preserved with respect to finding solutions to global, all-union problems such as the country's defense and the sectors of the national economy associated with it, matters of air, railroad and maritime transport and other issues of an all-union nature. Everything else will be virtually turned over to the control of the all-union republics.

Under these conditions the role of direct interrepublic links will be paramount in dealing with the economic problems of each republic. Integration of their economies, particularly the Central Asian republics including Kazakhstan, will play a role of decisive importance. This also applies to the production of food, particularly if we take into account the fact that our republic imports 75 percent of grain, 100 percent of sugar, almost one-third of the meat and milk required, 100 percent of timber, metal, means of transport, agricultural excavating machines and other equipment.

Under these conditions attitudes toward regional economic policy will require from us an activation of work in all avenues of the economy and a reappraisal of many existing ideas about the forms and methods by which the national economic complex functions.

It is essential to include actively in this work the local soviets of people's deputies, which are being given a solid legal basis for their activity.

They should now, already, be showing concern for the rational use of land and other natural resources and for the development of the social and cultural base in the countryside, making improvements in food supplies for the population and protecting the rights of leaseholders and so forth.

Each rayon and oblast should be seriously concerned with increasing the per capita consumption of products on its own territory, first and foremost using the opportunities available to them.

The CPSU Central Committee March Plenum determined that practical work to implement agrarian policy will require enormous efforts not only by rural workers but also by all the people, industrial workers, construction workers, transport workers, teacher, physicians, figures in science and culture, and the entire intelligentsia.

And as always, the mass media must play a very active role in explaining the new agrarian policy and bringing it to the broad masses of workers and in propagandizing leading experience and organizing discussion of urgent problems in the food complex and the social development of the countryside.

The CPSU Central Committee March Plenum has armed us with a combat program of action and provided an opportunity to show creative initiative, and to orient ourselves independently in the choice of methods to implement that program, for which we bear full responsibility to the party and the people.

In conclusion the speaker expressed his conviction that the republic party organization will be on top of things in carrying out the difficult new tasks put forward and substantiated by the CPSU Central Committee March and April (1989) plenums.

#### Niyazov Speech at Seminar on Developing Agriculture

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[Turkmeninform report on speech by S. A. Niyazov at the republic seminar-conference of APK workers: "Initiative and Creativity for the Restructuring of the APK"]

[Text] Tashauz, 5 April—Urgent problems related to the development of the republic's agro-industrial complex, and the goals of intensifying agricultural production

were discussed at a republic seminar-conference of APK workers that opened here. Participating in it are secretaries of party raykoms and obkoms, workers of soviet and economic organs and representatives of republic ministries and departments. In opening the seminar, S. A. Niyazov, first secretary of the Turkmenistan CP Central Committee, emphasized that in the course of an honest dialogue we must assess the paths and directions to be taken for further APK [Agroindustrial Complex] development in the light of the decisions of the March 1989 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee.

Speaking at the seminar were Yu. K. Mogilevets, member of the Buro of the Turkmen CP Central Committee, first deputy chairman of the republic's council of ministers and chairman of Turkmen SSR Gosagroprom [State Agroindustrial Association], O. Khodzhakov, first secretary of the Tashauz Party Obkom and others.

Yu. A. Tomak, responsible staff worker of the CPSU Central Committee, spoke at the seminar.

Participating in the work of the seminar were K. M. Orazov, B. M. Sakhatmuradov, and V. S. Chertishchev, members of the Buro of the Turkmen CP Central Committee, Ya. P. Gundogdyev, candidate member of the Buro of the Turkmen CP Central Committee, and P. M. Arkhipov, chairman of the TSSR KGB.

On that same day the seminar participants visited enterprises in Takhtinskiy and Tashauzskiy rayons, where they became acquainted with the working and living conditions of crop and livestock farmers.

#### Speech by S. A. Niyazov

Comrades!

At the March 1989 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee a thorough analysis was made of the situation in the country's agro-industrial complex. Innovative, large-scale proposals were presented regarding perestroika in the agrarian policies of the party under contemporary conditions. A program of radical transformations in the village was adopted.

At the Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee a truly revolutionary conclusion was drawn that the radical changes in the village are very closely related not only to the growth in capital investments in the agricultural sector, to increased soil fertility and to the quality of production but also to the elimination of the alienation of the peasant from the land and a return to him of his rights as manager. The shortest route to a sharp increase in food and to better food supplies for the population lies in altering economic relations, in their democratization, in the extensive and universal introduction of cost accounting and family and lease contracts, and in developing cooperation and farm and individual subsidiary enterprises among village workers.

You know that our republic has done some positive work in this direction. According to report data, last year 50 percent of all collectives worked on the basis of collective and family contracts, and in livestock farming—47 percent. Lease relations are also developing. At present over 8,000 leasees are working in all branches of agriculture.

As numerous facts attest, the introduction of new forms of production and labor organization is accompanied by the striving of the rank worker to carry out his work assiduously and with initiative, in other words, in a business-like manner. His interest in high end results of production increases.

But we must also speak about the fact that in this important matter there are serious shortcomings and negligence as well as direct violations. This is attested to by the numerous complaints arriving in party, soviet and economic organs. The Club of Business Meetings alone received 45 claims on questions dealing with the new forms of labor organization and incentives.

Everything that is mentioned in the claims is as a rule confirmed. I will present only two examples. At a meeting with voters in Ashkhabadskiy Rayon a group of workers from Leninizm Yely Sovkhoz came to me with a complaint about the sovkhoz administration, which has tolerated violations in paying wages to family collectives. An investigation wholly confirmed the basis for their complaint. In the agreement the valuation of products to be produced was depressed. As a result of this the underpayment comprised 13,000 rubles or more than 30 percent of the family's wages.

In Moskva Kolkhoz, Deynauskiy Rayon, a contract agreement was concluded with the family of Sh. Rasulov for raising average-fiber cotton, but the fine-fiber 9871I variety was sown. The kolkhoz administration made a correction in the contract, but only to its advantage, retaining the high productivity and low valuation as if the average-fiber cotton were being cultivated. Because of this the Rasulov family lost a large sum of money.

In connection with this I would like to place a special emphasis on the fact that any mistakes and errors, let alone negative tendencies and violations, will unavoidably undermine the trust of the people and will reduce to nothing this matter that is of such great importance.

In the light of the decisions of the March plenum today we must create all of the conditions for new forms of management in the village and for the development of labor and social activeness of the common worker.

Today in all organizational and political work there is no more important task than the development of people's initiative, the development of a moral-psychological climate in labor collectives and economic conditions that will have each worker working with initiative.

feeling like a genuine manager in his work and achieving high end results. A full complement of incentives must be given for the specific results of labor and an economy of resources.

In our country kolkhozes and sovkhozes will remain the main organizational form of management. But even within their framework we should develop leasing, cooperative relations, family and even farmers' plots more extensively and decisively. Moreover, kolkhozes, sovkhozes and rayons should assimilate new economic relations.

If we speak about lease forms of management, they must be extensively used in sheep raising, very much in cultivating green and very early crops, gardening, dairy livestock raising, hog raising and poultry farming.

We have placed before all enterprises, kolkhozes and sovkhozes the task of supplying the population of all cities and regions with early vegetables in a well-paced manner. Here capital investments are not needed. But, what the private worker can do kolkhozes will also be able to do. Why is it that today a private worker can sell a bunch of fresh onions for 50 kopecks in the market while kolkhozes and sovkhozes stand to the side? Soon it will be time for early potatoes. Do you think that they will be sold in Chardzhou and Mary oblasts or in the Ashkhabad group of rayons? No, again it will be the private worker who does this.

Kolkhoz chairmen and rayon directors are faced with a task—to supply the residents of cities and rayons with vegetables on a year-round basis in a well-paced manner. Consider it an assignment to you by the Turkmen CP Central Committee. Recently some comrades visited Omsk and told us that a bunch of onions there cost 10-15 kopecks. And that is in Omsk! Now look at our markets. The only reason for such a situation is the irresponsibility of directors in dealing with the important question of supplying the population.

And look at the possibilities for lease forms of management at the Khauzhanskiy Massif, in Yulangyz and Vass, and in general on virgin lands distant from settlements! Yet we are doing very little about this as of yet. Here we have enormous hidden reserves.

The assimilation of a new management mechanism and the expansion of independence of agricultural enterprises objectively requires radical changes in the management of the agro-industrial complex, and within all of its links.

We have no ready solutions. The question is a very serious one and requires thorough elaboration and interpretation. In May it is planned to have a plenary session of the Turkmen CP Central Committee to deal with agricultural questions. Let us all collectively think about this and make our proposals.

In each region there can be alternative decisions, and this is proper. But it is very clear that we must do away with excess administrative links, simplify structure and develop democratization on all levels.

Our centralization of administration is too great, our administrative apparatus is cumbersome and multi-level, structuring its work according to old methods and approaches. At the same time intra-departmental separation and a passive position in solving problems related to the stable and dynamic development of production remain.

Look at how many so-called service operations we have in the region—municipal, Selenergo [Village energy service], Selkhozhimiya [Agricultural chemical association], the operation and repair of the machine and tractor fleet and construction. And not a single one of them bears any responsibility for the end results in agriculture. They are managed either by republic or oblast organizations.

With a consideration of this, a great urgency has developed to have cost accounting, self-financing, self-supporting production and a mutual high level of effectiveness unify all of the links of the agro-industrial complex, including its economic management organs and service branches. On the level of the rayon it is essential to have a whole system that unifies production, processing, product sales and the service branches.

Comrades, the social development of the village is becoming a more and more urgent problem on our agenda. We must decisively improve this work. It is essential to exhibit much more concern about increasing the pace of construction of housing, medical facilities, trade enterprises, consumer facilities, cultural facilities, schools and kindergartens, about gasification of settlements as well as supplying them with good-quality water. We should mobilize all resources and actively utilize all existing reserves and possibilities to solve these problems.

I must mention schools in village areas. Almost all of them are in damaged condition—some have no floors, others no doors. Let us develop innovative construction. We have given all the rayons and oblasts the necessary resources. Bring about a minimum of order in schools this year, don't disperse these resources among numerous objects. Let's work on one problem. Rayon executive committees must allocate resources and enterprises must rebuild their schools through the efforts of their builders. Wages can be drawn from the budget. If needed, we have additional resources. We cannot teach our children in damaged schools. Party obkoms must supervise this.

The building of enterprises for trade and consumer services in the village is an important question. I think that republic ministries and departments must build good, comfortable buildings for stores and consumer service objects where necessary. Party committees must

supervise this. Problems related to capital building of schools, cultural facilities and kindergartens will be taken care of according to plan order, but in places where it is possible directors must solve them themselves. I think that it will be necessary to organize competition on the development of the necessary conditions for the work and everyday lives of village residents. This will be a qualitatively-new form of competition.

The republic has all the possibilities for supplying the population with quality drinking water. For example, in the Tashauz zone this can be implemented by means of building a pipeline from Tuya-Muyun. Already during the current year it is planned to begin the construction of this water line. The Mary Oblast party committee has exhibited good initiative in planning to supply the population with water from the Khauzkhanskoye Reservoir. It is planned to place one more pipeline into the western regions.

Now a word about gasification of the village. The central committee is setting the goal of completing the gasification of our villages by 1995. According to our plans and funds this is unrealistic. But through initiative this can be done. In our country gas is not limited. There is more of a problem with low-pressure pipes. One of the ways to solve this problem is to have direct contact with those enterprises in the country whose products, in exchange for our products and in particular for vegetables and fruit, can help to accelerate the pace of gasification. Glavgaz [Main administration for gas] and Gazprom [Gas industrial association] must help to solve these problems.

Comrades! Today for all of us there is no more important goal than the active development of the aforementioned positive changes in the republic's agriculture. The main thing is not to weaken, to implement things in a more organized and assiduous manner, energetically. The fate of the entire five-year plan depends on how we organize work this year.

Last year's results attest to the fact that all rayons have a real opportunity already this year to fulfill the plan for the procurement of raw cotton and to sharply increase the production of farming and livestock products. However, in connection with this I must mention that in many of the republic's rayons a clear complacency is being manifested, and even an irresponsibility, in the preparation and implementation of sowing operations for cotton and other agricultural crops. Again the sowing of alfalfa has become protracted in the enterprises of Chardzhou Oblast as well as in Kizyl-Arvatskiy and Serakhskiy rayons, which have missed the best agrotechnical time.

A tense situation has developed with regard to sowing corn for grain. The time for this is passing yet in many enterprises of Chardzhou Oblast and Ashkhabadskiy, Tedzhenskiy and Kirovskiy rayons less than 30 percent

of the planned area has been sown. It is essential to complete sowing no later than 10 April. If the schedule is prolonged this will lead to great harvest losses.

Comrades, how much can we talk about the importance of increasing corn grain production, about producing a large harvest? The time has come to bring specific guilty parties to a strict accounting. After all it is time to radically change the attitude toward this crop.

A word about cotton farming. The changes that we have seen in its development gladden us. But we must view this only as the beginning of extensive, promising work. As before, the problem of productivity is urgent, especially in the Ashkhabad group of rayons, in Mary Oblast and in many enterprises of Tashauz and Chardzhou oblasts.

Today we must objectively note that the practical work to fulfill the goal of increasing productivity to 25-30 quintals per hectare is being implemented poorly and in some enterprises—unsatisfactorily.

Of course it is impossible to meet this goal with one-time measures. Everywhere we need a precise system of organizational-managerial, scientific-technical and economic measures. In each enterprise we must develop this kind of system and implement it consistently.

This year we must not only secure the achieved level in cotton production but also surpass it. For the republic a great and basic problem is to cover its debt to the government, comprising 59,500 tons, already this year. For this it is essential to submit to the state 1,349,500 tons of cotton as compared to 1,340,700 tons last year.

To do this we must raise a large and early cotton harvest in every kolkhoz and sovkhоз. If everything works well and intensively this goal is completely realistic.

However, comrades, the sowing of cotton is unfolding slowly, which gives rise to a certain amount of alarm.

This is why it is essential, without delay, to deal with all the problems related to carrying out cotton sowing in the optimum time and on a high agrotechnical level as well as to produce uniform and full-value shoots.

We calculate that in the Ashkhabad group of rayons and in Mary and Chardzhou oblasts cotton sowing must be completed no later than 22 April, and in Tashauz Oblast—1 May. Kolkhozes and sovkhozes have all of the possibilities for meeting this goal.

A violation of the elementary requirements of agrotechnology and of the schedule for carrying out all types of work brings great losses to achieving a large and early harvest. After all, here the schedule for carrying out thinning of plants, removing weeds, applying fertilizer and vegetative irrigation are delayed 10-15 days right and left.

What is interfering with the fulfillment of all technological operations in a timely manner and with quality? The answer is simple—low cadres discipline, their lack of desire to work in a new manner and poor organizational and political work among party and soviet organs. In the work of many directors and specialists inertia and attachment to obsolete work forms and methods still prevail.

This year as never before it is especially important to increase the level of mechanization and cultivation of cotton and of harvesting operations and to sharply decrease the use of manual labor.

In February of this year the CPSU Central Committee examined the question, "On the Illegal Use of Child Labor in Agricultural Operations." On 28 March this question was examined by the Buro of the Turkmen CP Central Committee. We have already spoken on this subject considerably. There have, of course, been some positive changes but serious violations still continue.

We cannot, and we have no right to ignore cases in which child labor is used in agriculture before our very eyes. This is an anti-party, anti-state position. On this question the central committee buro occupies a precise and simple position—there should no longer be any violations, now each case will be assessed strictly and openly.

Today I once again want to direct your attention to the problem of supplying the republic's population with vegetable products. There are still no improvements here and the problem remains as probably one of the most acute. Yet we have real possibilities to raise high-quality vegetables in the necessary volumes in all rayons and enterprises in order to fully supply the population.

But why is there such an attitude toward the needs and demands of people? Why is there so much indifference and passivity? Many directors have essentially distanced themselves from this important matter.

This year we must achieve radical change in vegetable farming. Party obkoms and raykoms must move from words to deeds and when necessary use their power to cardinally solve the problems related to improving the supply of vegetable products for the population.

Livestock raising should be at the center of our attention daily. Let me state directly that the situation in this branch is being corrected slowly. The productivity of livestock and fowl and the volume of animal production output are growing at an unsatisfactory pace. The main reasons for this situation is the low level of branch management, the neglect of breeding and zooveterinary work, low production quality, mismanagement and the improper attitude on the part of many directors to feed production. This is also the result of the fact that many directors still are of the opinion that the assessment of their work depends on indices for cotton farming.

Here we see the stereotypes and the approaches of a stagnant period, which gives rise to great concern and alarm and requires immediate action. At the central committee plenum we will thoroughly and self-critically analyze the problems in livestock raising, restate the problem of the responsibility of each communist-leader for the situation within this important branch in a new way and will determine the most effective approaches toward the branch's intensive development in the light of the requirements of the March 1989 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee.

#### Turkmen Ideological Aktiv Meeting on Elections, Informal Groups

18300628 Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian 13 Apr 89 p 1

[Turkmeninform report on meeting of the republic's ideological aktiv: "Perestroyka—Dependable Guarantees of Protection and Irreversibility"]

[Text] What are today's realities in the republic? What must we consider in order to make sure that successfully-initiated perestroika has an even more dynamic continuation and that its ideas continue to permeate more deeply into social consciousness, not only expanding rights but also strengthening responsibility, discipline and organization? Is everything all right in terms of the moral and socio-political climate of the republic from the point of view of those negative processes that have touched whole numbers of regions in our country and in some cases have poured out as extreme manifestations of a nationalistic and extremist character?

These questions were on the agenda of the meeting that took place on 11 April in the Turkmen CP Central Committee. Participating in it were representatives of the means of mass information, of the scientific and artistic groups in the republic and of legal protection organs, directors of social science departments, ideology secretaries of obkoms and of a number of party raykoms, and responsible staff workers of the Turkmenistan CP Central Committee, the presidium of the supreme soviet and the republic's council of ministers and soviet, trade union and komsomol organs.

In opening the meeting, S. A. Niyazov, First Secretary of the Turkmen CP Central Committee, invited its participants to have an honest exchange of opinion regarding the essence of the problems that have been posed, and noted the political appropriateness of discussing them and the necessity to see and analyze the complex processes given rise to by perestroyka, and when required, to anticipate them and direct them into a constructive and practical channel.

Speaking at the meeting were A. Agabayev, administrative chairman of the TSSR Writers' Union, S. Atayev, chairman of the Republic Council of War and Labor Veterans, T. Dzhumageldyyev, editor of the newspaper

EDEBIYAT VE SUNGAT, K. Ya. Annakuliyev, director of the party history department of the Turkmen Agricultural Institute, R. Karayev, deputy director of the Turkmen affiliate of IML [Institute of Marxism-Leninism] of the CPSU Central Committee, V. K. Mogilevetsh, TGU [Turkmen State University] party committee secretary, S. S. Rakhimov, chairman of TSSR Gosteleradio [State committee on television and radio], V. Ye. Abramov, chairman of TSSR Gosplan and others.

Also speaking at the meeting were Kh. Durdyyev, S. M. Nesterenko and A. Khodzhamuradov, all members of the Buro of the Turkmen CP Central Committee.

In generally characterizing the situation in the republic as healthy, positive and oriented toward the continued consolidation of all public forces, the meeting's participants expressed a unanimous opinion that the line being implemented by the party's central committee and by the republic's government is fully supported by workers. This is attested to by their labor and socio-political activism, which was manifested most fully in the course of the election campaign. Not only did the people vote for democracy, they are responding in deed to the rights given to them, and expanding their participation in implementing political and economic reform and the achievement of genuine people's power.

While confirming these indisputable advantages of perestroika processes in the republic, the meeting's participants in a broad dialogue also touched on those problems which are developing or may develop if rights are not secured by responsibility, if democracy and glasnost are replaced by anarchy and total permissiveness or by demagogic calls and slogans, if social processes are allowed to proceed in their own direction and if a social consciousness is not developed from party and internationalistic positions. In connection with this special emphasis was placed on the role of the means of mass information, which have been called upon to objectively reflect the entire course of social development. Some publications and television and radio broadcasts do not have enough of this kind of vision, this ability to see the complex, contradictory processes of the times in their relationship to the past and present. Sometimes ideological looseness and a vacillation in position is based on the incompetency not only of the authors of the publications but also of the editors of the publications, who more willingly utilize rumor and conjecture than competent sources. There has been a tendency to present sensational material to the detriment of objective logic and common sense.

In speaking about this and bringing up other cases that encourage the development of a distorted and sometimes primitive public opinion far from the true goals and tasks of perestroika, the meeting's participants emphasized that all of this lays the groundwork for the manifestation of nationalist sentiments and narrow-minded interpretations which can result in negative actions if they are not stopped in time.

Meeting participants were unanimous in feeling that the creation of informal social structures is an artificial build-up above existing government establishments. Everything that is borne of the initiative of people, of their striving to actively participate in perestroika can and must be directed by those forms of social organization that comprise the constitutional foundation of the country.

In connection with this the meeting participants approved for its timeliness the Directive of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, "On Introducing Changes and Additions to the USSR Law 'On Criminal Responsibility for State Crimes' and Several Other Legal Decrees of the USSR." They emphasized that in this an important step was taken on the path toward creating guarantees for the protection of the renewal processes that are developing in our society.

S. A. Niyazov, First Secretary of the Turkmen CP Central Committee, spoke to the meeting participants.

"There has been a useful, trusting exchange of opinions," he said. "It was important for us to become convinced of the fact that the republic's ideological aktiv supports the position of the central committee and that we do not have differences on even a single question. It would be absurd to look for differences. Our goals and tasks are the same—to have the republic flourish, to have our people live better. Today a great deal has been said about both our successes and our shortcomings as well.

"We have many shortcomings, and we are fighting them. You know this. But one curious tendency is becoming manifest—those who simply look for the shortcomings, leaving the honor of fighting them to someone else, are counting themselves among the ardent supporters of perestroika. This is a dangerous tendency. We see that it manifests itself also in the work of the means of mass information. This was already mentioned today. I would simply like to emphasize that the press must act in the party manner and must present on its pages that which is to the benefit and not to the detriment of perestroika. It is painful, and sometimes bitter, to read publications that confuse the uninformed reader. Right now no subject is taboo. There can be no democracy without discussion. But if the discussion begins to acquire unhealthy features, if it becomes an arena for settling personal accounts, for defending egotistical interests, interference is essential. And we will interfere, in a party and principled manner. Only we should not confuse this kind of supervision with administrative pressure; there is no need to identify them with each other. We will require party discipline from communists. We will make our policies more severe in places where the political moment requires this.

"There can be no alternative to the party line. And can there be an alternative to that which is directed at confirming humanistic values and the elevation of man?

We see what falsely-understood, rudderless democracy and glasnost can result in. A confirmation of this is the events in Georgia. Will history forgive us human sacrifice?

"In speaking today about the fact that in the republic a generally healthy moral-political situation is developing, we do not simplify the situation. It is developing objectively, under the influence of many factors among which not the least role is played by the internationalist nature of our people, the multi-national composition of our republic. But we would be politically shortsighted if we did not look at tomorrow, if we did not daily supervise the socio-political climate of the republic. It is our task not to tolerate any nuclei of inter-national tension. Here an important role belongs to the policy of bilingualism, equality of languages, which we will adhere to unwaveringly. I would like to inform you that the "Language" program is being developed and foresees the development of more favorable conditions for the continued development and improvement of the situation involving languages of all nationalities and peoples living in the republic.

"Today perestroika has required of all of us the recognition of the great responsibility for one's words, deeds and actions. We will defend it through further consolidation of all forces of revolutionary renewal and through the strengthening of the friendship and unity of peoples."

Participating in the work of the meeting were members of the Buro of the Turkmen CP Central Committee R. A. Bazarova, A. Kurbanova, V. N. Rebrik, B. M. Sakhatmuradov and V. S. Chertishchev and candidate members to the Buro of the Turkmen CP Central Committee Kh. Akhmedov and Ya. P. Gundogdyev.

**Uzbek Decree Addresses Cultural Needs of Republic's Minorities**  
18300600 Tashkent *PRAVDA VOSTOKA* in Russian  
25 Apr 89 p 1

[Decree of Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium: "On the Work of Local Soviets of Peoples Deputies, Ministries, and Republic Departments for Satisfying the Cultural Needs of Nationalities Living within the Uzbek SSR"]

[Text] The Presidium of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet notes that steps are being undertaken within the republic toward satisfying the cultural needs of the nations and nationalities that live within its territory. The needs of the population to receive an education in their native languages is, in part, being more completely satisfied. Instruction of children is being carried out in the Tadzhik language at 259 schools, in the Kazakh language at 491 schools, in the Turkmen language at 52 schools, in the Kirgiz language at 40 schools, and in the Greek and Korean languages in 12 and 7 classes respectively. Faculties and departments with instruction in the Tadzhik,

Kazakh, and Crimean Tatar languages are functioning at Samarkand and Irkutsk universities and at higher teacher training institutions in the cities of Tashkent and Samarkand. During the current academic year more than 1800 persons have been sent to study at higher educational institutions in fraternal republics.

The subject matter of radio and television broadcasts is being broadened. The television-bridge program "Union of Fraternal Peoples," concerned with current questions of the history, economy, ecology and culture of Uzbekistan and Tadzhikistan, is being jointly aired by the television services of the Central Asian republics and Kazakhstan every month. There are weekly radio programs in the Tadzhik and Kazakh languages in Samarkandskaya, Bukharskaya, Ferganskaya, Syrdarinskaya and Suyrkhandarskaya oblasts. Broadcasts of Tadzhik Radio are heard throughout Uzbekistan. Exchange radio programs lasting up to two hours are being broadcast periodically.

Sections for Tadzhik, Crimean Tatar, Bukhara Jewish, Uigur, and Korean literature have been established at the Uzbek Writers Union. Nine rayon newspapers are being published in the Tadzhik language and 5 in Kazakh. The frequency of appearance of the Tadzhik newspaper *KHAKIKATI UZBEKSTON* has been increased. Thematic exchange columns from newspapers in other union republics have started being published more often in the republic's newspapers.

Recently, a number of professional and amateur artistic collectives have been organized, drawing upon Crimean Tatars, Turoks, Koreans, Germans, Tadzhiks, Uigurs, and representatives of certain other nationalities. Work is being carried out to establish ethnic cultural societies for Soviet Koreans and Bukhara Jews as well as the Uigur theatrical studios "Shark" and "Rovesnik." Plays by Kirgiz, Kazakh, and Tadzhik playwrights are being presented on the stages of Uzbek theaters. Shows based on the works of Tadzhik playwrights are being presented at the Bukhara musical and dramatic theater imeni Aynya and the Samarkand dramatic theater imeni Kh. Alimdzhan. An interesting program by the Korean "Chen-Chun" ensemble has been prepared with the participation of choreographers from the Peoples Democratic Republic of Korea. "Literature of the USSR Peoples" bookstores have begun to operate in Tashkent, Samarkand, and Nukus. An inter-republic competition called "The Art of the Book" took place in the city of Tashkent in March of this year.

Regular official contacts among the leaders of the Central Asian republics and Kazakhstan are helping to create a favorable atmosphere in inter-ethnic relations, conditions for the fullest satisfaction of the cultural needs of nations and nationalities. Meetings have taken place between the CP Central Committee first secretaries of the republics, the chairmen of the councils of ministers, the ministers of culture and communications, and the

directors of creative unions. In accordance with agreements that have been reached, a regional coordination center has been established to arrange art festivals, tours of theatrical collectives and book publishing activities and to develop collaboration among the fraternal republics in the training of specialists. There are plans to hold days of literature and to publish and mutually exchange socio-political and scientific and popular literature.

At the same time, opportunities for more completely satisfying the cultural needs of the nationalities which live in Uzbekistan are not being utilized satisfactorily. Many letters to the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet commission for questions of inter-ethnic relations and inter-ethnic education testify that ministries, departments, and local soviets of peoples deputies frequently unjustifiably slow in investigating questions that are being raised by individual ethnic groups.

The Uzbek SSR Ministry of Education is not timely enough in resolving questions of providing instruction in national languages, particularly in Tatar, Korean, Uigur and Turkish, and of organizing corresponding faculties, and also in providing training and methodological support of the study process. Because of weak contacts with the ministries of the corresponding republics, schools having Kazakh, Tadzhik, Turkmen, and Kirgiz languages of instruction are short a total of 105,000 copies of 26 categories of textbooks.

Decisions on organizing the taking of entrance examinations for higher educational institutions in the Kazakh, Tadzhik, Turkmen and Kirgiz languages, on expanding the training of teachers of beginning classes for Kazakh schools, or about opening faculties of Uigur philology and of the Korean language have not been approved by the Ministry.

Due to insufficient attention by the Uzbek SSR State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade [Goskomizdat] and the executive committees of the Tashkent city and oblast soviets of peoples deputies, the sale of literature in the languages of the peoples of the USSR is poorly organized. In the specialized book store of the city of Tashkent, there are no more than 5-10 types of such literature for sale. The needs of the population for self-instruction texts, dictionaries, and phrase books are not being met, which is making the study of languages substantially more complicated.

The residents of certain rayons in Bukharskaya, Samarkandskaya and Kashkadarinskaya oblasts still are deprived of the opportunity to view programs of Tadzhik television.

The Uzbek SSR Ministry of Culture is not showing necessary concern about strengthening the material base of the Efsane, Gunel, Chen-Chun, and other creative

collectives: Many of them do not possess quarters, necessary equipment and inventory, loud-speaker equipment, and musical instruments. A delay is being permitted in organizing an inter-ethnic cultural coordination center and in creating a Tatar concert collective within the Uzbek Concert company [Uzbekkontsert].

Taking note that local soviets of peoples deputies, ministries and departments of the republic are slow in restructuring their work to take into account the multi-ethnic character of the Uzbek population that they are not taking steps on a sufficiently timely and considered basis to further develop inter-ethnic relations and to eliminate the urgent problems in this sphere that are disturbing to the working people.

The Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decrees:

That the Uzbek SSR Ministry of Education shall be obligated:

- during the upcoming 1989-90 academic year, in consideration of the wishes of the citizens, to expand instruction of students in general education schools in the languages of the peoples of the USSR who live in Uzbekistan, including the Tadzhik, Kazakh, Turkmen, and Kirgiz languages, and also to ensure study of the Tatar, Korean, Uigur, Turkish, and of the native languages of other nationalities as well;
- in coordination with the ministries of education of the central Asian republics and Kazakhstan, to resolve questions of training teachers for Tadzhik, Turkmen, Kazakh, Kirgiz and other ethnic schools. To institute specialization in Uigur philology and the Korean language;
- to organize, beginning with the 1989-90 academic year, the approach of conducting higher educational institution entrance examinations for language and literature in the Kazakh, Tadzhik, and Kirgiz languages;
- to take measures necessary for a fundamental improvement in teaching the history of the Uzbek SSR and of Central Asia in the schools and in professional and technical, secondary specialized, and higher educational institutions in the Uzbek SSR;
- on the basis of existing agreements with fraternal union and autonomous republics, to take practical measures to provide schools and other educational institutions with study and visual aid materials in the Kazakh, Tadzhik, Turkmen, Kirgiz and Tatar languages.

The Uzbek SSR Goskomizdat shall adopt decisions with regard to the publication and import from outside republic borders of study and artistic literature in quantities that ensure satisfaction of the needs of the nations and peoples living within Uzbekistan, giving special attention to increased production of dictionaries, self-teaching texts, and phrase books. Together with the Kazakh SSR Goskomizdat, it shall resolve the question

of satisfying the demand for literature in the Korean and Uigur languages. On the basis of thorough study of demand and by developing ties with the appropriate organizations in fraternal republics, it shall improve the work of book stores and departments which trade in the literature of the peoples of the USSR, increasing their role as centers of propaganda of national culture.

Together with the Uzbek SSR Ministry of Communications, the Uzbek SSR State Committee for Television and Radio [Gosteleradio] shall work persistently to further expand the number of television and radio broadcasts in the Kazakh, Tadzhik, Kirgiz, Tatar, Uigur, Turkish, and Crimean Tatar languages.

Before the end of the current year, the Uzbek SSR Ministry of Culture shall organize a Tatar concert brigade within Uzbekkontsert and shall implement practical measures to improve material and technical support of national creative collectives.

It shall examine the question and introduce a proposal to the Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers concerning the opening of a theater of peoples friendship in the city of Tashkent.

The Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers shall examine the question of the establishment of a Republic Inter-ethnic Cultural Center in the city of Tashkent and of the organization at it of folklore and other amateur collectives, groups for the study of languages, and also of a library and audio center with holdings in the languages of the peoples of the USSR.

The executive committees of local soviets of peoples deputies shall show increased concern for creating conditions necessary for the study of national languages.

Following established procedures, they shall examine and approve the charters of national cultural societies that represent the interests of various ethnic groups, as long as these charters do not contradict the provisions of the USSR Constitution, the Constitution of the Uzbek SSR, and existing legislation.

Oblast and the Tashkent City soviets of peoples deputies, their commissions for questions of inter-ethnic relations and inter-ethnic education, guided by the resolution of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference relating to questions of inter-ethnic relations, shall have the obligation of energizing work to meet vital ethnic cultural needs. In the spirit of friendship and brotherhood of peoples, they shall manifest concern about the creation of conditions necessary for a flourishing of national cultures and of a legally equal development of languages, one which excludes any kind of discrimination. They shall expand the study of the Uzbek, Russian, and other languages within labor collectives and among studying young people.

They shall broaden economic and cultural ties and the exchange of experience in organizational work with soviets of peoples deputies in fraternal republics.

**Border Troops Delegation Returns From Finland**  
*18001222 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian*  
*9 Jun 89 p 3*

[“The Visit Has Ended”]

[Text] A delegation of Soviet border guard troops led by Army General V. A. Matrosov, Chief of Border Guard Troops, has returned to Moscow from Finland. The delegation was on an official visit at the invitation of Lieutenant General Matti J. Autio, Chief of the Directorate of Border Police.

**Psychologist Views Impact of Chernobyl Tragedy**  
**Press Coverage**  
*18300603 Moscow ZHURNALIST in Russian No 3,*  
*Mar 89 pp 43-48*

[Article by Candidate of Psychological Sciences Stanislav Roshchin, senior scientific associate at the USSR Academy of Sciences' Institute of Psychology: "Borrowed Trust: Time to Repay"]

[Text] Stanislav Roshchin, the author of this article, is a psychologist. Is there any need to say that a journalist today cannot work without taking into account the psychology of the reader, television viewer, or radio listener? But do we know the elementary principles of psychology?

In his article the author recalls the accident at the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Station and its treatment in the press, and he explains why interest in the Western "radio voices" rose sharply during that period. He reflects on the taking of an active stance by a member of the press.

Sometimes the author rather categorically gives advice to journalists. Will we take it and be guided by it? Let everyone decide that for himself.

**The Chernobyl Failure**

The most vivid example of how press reports can come into contradiction with the properties of human perception is the situation that took shape in the first days and weeks following the disaster at the nuclear power plant in Chernobyl. At first there was an unjustifiably long delay in reports of what had happened, then there was vagueness, and then there was a certain superficiality and even contradictoriness in evaluations of the accident's consequences.

The first thing that prevented people from evaluating the situation was connected with the constant use in reports of special terms (roentgens, rads and even bekkerelis) whose meaning and content, as well as the differences among them, neither scientists, nor officials, nor journalists generally ever bothered to explain.

Further, there was simply confusion in reports about the degree of danger that existed and about how many, and what sort of units of radioactive radiation constituted a risk for human health and life.

Thus, Issue No 20 of ARGUMENTY I FAKTY (13-19 May 1986) reported, in the words of Doctor of Medical Sciences V. Golikov, that "at the moment of the accident the fission chain reaction was automatically shut off and, as a consequence, there has been virtually no emission of dangerous, long-lived radioisotopes, which can cause the greatest harmful effect and raise ambient radiation." In ARGUMENTY I FAKTY, but this time in Issue No 24 (10-16 June), O. G. Polskiy, the USSR Ministry of Health's chief inspector for protection against radiation, clarified the matter: "The third group in the spectrum of

radioactive emissions consisted, as we now see, of long-lived, nonvolatile isotopes.... They accounted for a relatively insignificant percentage of overall emissions."

Further, answering a question as to the reason for the Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Health's recommendations not to swim in open bodies of water and to limit time spent on the beach, Polskiy stated: "In some cases various proposed restrictions on people's normal activities are of the nature of misinformation and due to a lack of sufficient information and knowledgeability about these matters (and that had to apply to the UkrSSR Ministry of Health!—S. R.), and sometimes simply to excessive cautiousness." One wonders just who readers were supposed to believe, especially Ukrainian readers for whom all these questions were not just a matter of idle curiosity.

In the aforementioned interview V. Golikov, on the one hand, claims that "in the area of the station radiation doses were within the limits permissible for the population in the event of emergency situations." (And, to follow Golikov's logic, the population was evacuated from a 30- km zone "just in case"). And on the other hand, in speaking about the level of ambient radiation, he notes: "Not a single case was found in which a critical level was reached outside the limits of the 30-km zone." Does that mean there were such cases within that zone? Then what about the claim about the permissibility of radiation doses for the population in the area of the station?

The contradictory claims about the actual radiation doses that were dangerous to people's health and life were even more numerous. The same V. Golikov claimed: "Radiation sickness develops only when doses are on the order of hundreds of roentgens." In the same interview he reports that for cosmonauts, radiologists and workers at nuclear power plants that "maximum permissible dose" is five roentgens a year. And further on it follows from his statements that the construction and power- engineering workers who were working to cope with the accident received up to 12 roentgens in two weeks; that "a person who has received 25 roentgens a year is kept from working at nuclear power plants for 12 months; and that the effect of radiation doses of more than 50 roentgens causes the development of cancers. This comes after the reassuring statement that it takes a dose "on the order of hundreds of roentgens" to cause radiation sickness, although other articles have repeatedly pointed out that a dose of 100 roentgens is already enough to cause acute radiation sickness. In short, in just a single article there were too many "unclear points," to put it mildly.

Reports in other newspapers only added to the confusion. The newspaper IZVESTIYA for 22 May 1986 reported that with an ordinary X-ray machine the "one-time dose received by a patient ranges from 1 to 13 roentgens." O. P. Shchelin, deputy USSR minister of health, provided even greater reassurance in informing

readers of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA (21 May 1986) that when a stomach X ray is taken "a person receives about 30 roentgens in the abdominal area." How, then, were readers to understand a "maximum permissible dose" of five roentgens a year for nuclear power plant workers and cosmonauts?

Quite probably, all these contradictory claims, when taken in isolation, accord with reality, but under certain specific circumstances, and with certain qualifications. However, no one in those articles offered any sort of explanations.

It would probably be wrong to place the blame for all this discordant information on the journalists, since they were only reproducing the statements of specialists and officials. But they could have noted the contradictions and asked additional questions to their interviewees, couldn't they?

The chief reason for many Soviet citizens' interest in the broadcasts of foreign radio "voices" lies primarily in shortcomings in the work of our press. How did the Western radio voices act in the unexpected situation? Let's not deal with the disinformation and sensationalism that are usually discussed when the topic of bourgeois propaganda comes up. Let's look at the purely professional aspects of the work of the mass media broadcasting to the Soviet radio audience.

In the first place, the Western radio stations started broadcasting information about an accident at the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Station literally within hours after it happened. Considering the scale of the event and its importance to people, the question of "primacy of information" was exceptionally important. The evaluation of the accident and its consequences that was provided by Western news sources formed a permanent basis, or even a filter, for the perception of all subsequent reports, regardless of where they came from. On the other hand, our press started to provide its first information only two days after the event, and it, moreover, was extremely vague.

In the second place, the foreign "radio voices" very accurately defined the chief psychological need of the population of the Ukraine and the areas close to the site of the accident. That was a need for information, first of all, about the extent of the danger and what should be done in order to somehow neutralize that danger. After explaining the possible consequences of an accident at a nuclear power plant, the "voices" started giving practical advice and the information that the population needed most of all. Not until May 5, that is, nine days after the accident, did our mass news media start to do the same thing.

Fear, feelings of anxiety and uncertainty cause increased suggestibility in response to any sort of information, including rumors. The unsuccessful performance of the central and republic mass media helped maintain the

nervous atmosphere. Let me add: it is known from the practice of hypnosis that one suggestion accepted by a person facilitates the acceptance of others. By analogy, one can suppose that information from a specific source that is accepted with trust gives it the ability to "feed" other information, as well. The person will believe it.

It turns out that the population was simply pushed into orienting itself toward the Western "radio voices." In the meanwhile, along with the broadcast of well-intentioned and useful practical advice, they also attempted to capitalize politically on the situation.

You learn from your mistakes. But not always. In 1988, in principle, everything was repeated in connection with events in Nagornyy Karabakh and Armenia. It was repeated according to a familiar pattern: At first the withholding of information, followed by the insufficient completeness and clarity of information, followed by attempts to explain and justify these blunders, followed by—Followed, once again, by the complete absence of information, when events took an especially acute turn, and then finally there were daily, specific chronicles of events with appropriate commentary.

In other words, it took six or seven months to come to what should have been done from the very outset. There is no disputing the fact that the situation in which our mass news media found themselves was extremely complex. Not to mention the fact that the events themselves were unfamiliar for our society and press and our leaders. The intensity of passions surrounding them in both Armenia and Azerbaijan, as well as the existence of other "sore" spots in international relations in the country, gave special sensitivity to the question of the mass news media's civic responsibility for objectivity, accuracy and balance in publications. However, evading complex tasks was no way out of the situation. Any information vacuum, as we know, is promptly filled. Foreign "voices" and home-grown rumors quickly sated the all-union audience, working against the interests of our society. I think that in the most complex situations, even when complete clarity is lacking, it is still better to at least provide a simple chronicle of events than to provide nothing. Readers, television viewers and radio listeners can understand a temporary lack of commentaries and evaluations, but they can never reconcile themselves with a complete absence of information. They will seek it themselves. That is a peculiarity of the human psyche: people's desire to know what is going on around them.

#### Where Does the Indifference Come From?

There is a concept in Western psychology known as "cognitive dissonance." Let me explain: a state of dissonance, or sense of contradictoriness, arises in a person when he is simultaneously in possession of two psychologically contradictory pieces of "knowledge" (or opinions, or judgments) about one and the same subject. Dissonance disturbs the inner equilibrium, and therefore

a strong desire arises to be rid of it. How? Either by refusing to believe in one of the contradictory pieces of "knowledge," or by finding out something new, or finally, by reexamining one's former positions.

In life we often encounter this. For example, we have believed one of our acquaintances to be a very decent and honest person. And we suddenly find out that he has committed a base act. Our ideas about that person and the information about his act are so contradictory that they cannot be combined. It is an unpleasant situation. How do we act? We either simply do not believe that our acquaintance did something base, or we try to find out the details in hopes of explaining and justifying his act, or we radically change our attitude toward that person.

Let us recall Chernobyl once again. On the one hand, at first an attempt was made to give people the impression that the consequences of the accident at the nuclear power plant were insignificant; and on the other hand, persistent demands began to be made that they strictly and carefully observe precautionary measures against radioactive poisoning.

Later people felt sympathy and pride in reading reports about the heroism of their compatriots who had worked to deal with the consequences of the accident, and about concern for the victims. And suddenly reports started to appear that, through the fault of certain bureaucrats, the elementary living conditions, services, and recreational conditions were not being created for the heroes. And this criticism often sounded routine and excessively calm, as we had grown accustomed to writing about our everyday shortcomings.

Both the content and the tone of that criticism caused readers to feel indignation not so much at the fact itself that such bureaucrats existed, as at the possibility of showing callousness and irresponsibility in such an extreme situation. It would have probably been more correct if reports had focused not on the facts of those monstrosities themselves, as on rapid and strict measures taken by the authorities to rectify the state of affairs and punish those who were to blame. Then they would not have deviated from the psychological channel containing information both about people's heroism and about the great attention and care that was being shown them.

At that same time, there were numerous reports about all sorts of foul-ups and trivial accidents at foreign nuclear power plants. The purpose of such reports was perceived unequivocally: as an attempt either to justify "between the lines" our own misfortune, or to show that "things are bad in their countries too." This appeared frivolous, and readers and listeners responded to it, at best, with skepticism, and at worst, with irritation.

#### If One Does Not Respond—

The psychology of propaganda sometimes talks about "primary reality" and "secondary reality."

The former consists of people's knowledge and notions of reality that they derive from their own experience. And "secondary reality" is formed by the information that they receive from the press.

On 30 March 1985 M. Odinets published an essay in PRAVDA titled "Captive to Commonplaces"—a story about the actual work of rayon newspapers. For example, the newspaper CHERVONAZIRKA informed its readers that the Progress Kolkhoz had accumulated a certain amount of experience in using its own members to do construction work, and had set up its own construction brigade, whose members had built a 550-seat House of Culture, a bath house, four residential buildings, 10 kilometers of surfaced roads, and a kindergarten for 90 children. But since the rayon newspaper's readers could see all these "accomplishments" with their own eyes, they reported to PRAVDA that the information in no way squared with reality, and they attached appropriate photographs to their letter. The residential buildings and the kindergarten were represented by nothing but walls overgrown with tall weeds, and although the club and bath house had been built, they had been built not by kolkhoz members, as the newspaper claimed, but by hired brigades at a huge overexpenditure of funds.

What do readers do? They cease to believe the newspaper. One can only marvel that the journalists who publish such reports fail to understand that they are, with their own hands, seriously discrediting their publication for a long time to come.

I want to return to the question of cognitive dissonance. Unfortunately, despite the fact that a period of decisive actions and changes is beginning, shortcomings persist in the work of the press that create unfortunate cognitive dissonance in its audience.

In late 1987 and early 1988, as I see it, an alarming situation arose with regard to the resolution of the main issue of restructuring—the shift to new forms and methods of economic management.

What has happened? On the one hand, extensive propaganda was being waged for shifting our economy to cost accounting. On the other hand, a whole series of essays and interviews with major economic executives came out from which it followed that many enterprises remained bound hand and foot by plans that had already been adopted for 1988 and that left them no room, or practically no room, to show initiative. One can judge the acuteness of the problem from certain headings in PRAVDA alone: "Contrary to Cost Accounting," "Enterprise's Economic Initiative Dies Under Blows From 'Apportioning,'" etc. In other words, words were one thing and deeds were something entirely different. It

turned out that such enterprises found themselves in an even worse situation than they were previously, since different demands would be made of them in light of the new forms of economic operation. Yet they were put in a position in which it was known that they could not meet those demands. Of course, journalists did a service by undertaking to actively discuss the problem. But the problem is that the question remained without an answer. Dissonance.

One may ask how journalists are to blame. What else could they have done? I think that they should have been more consistent and more persistent in clarifying the truth. After all, if a clearly contradictory situation has come to exist, that means they should seek explanations from officials who can and should provide such explanations.

Journalists attempted to do that. On 28 December 1987 PRAVDA published an interview by D. Valovoy with S. Sitaryan, first deputy chairman of the Commission for Improving Management, Planning and the Economic Mechanism. The correspondent directly and incisively posed particularly urgent questions about the unjustifiable nature of the new normative rates, about the complaints of enterprises for which state orders took up their entire production programs, and about the fact that the pursuit of gross output was continuing.

What did he hear in reply? S. Sitaryan mainly agreed that all that, "unfortunately," was taking place. And he went on to try to assure that "certain steps to overcome" had been taken, that "the old principles still prevail," and that "the pursuit of gross output has not yet been overcome." The main question—how, in any event, would enterprises that in one way or another had been deprived of the possibility of restructuring realistically manage to do it?—remained unanswered.

Another great lack of clarity or, more precisely, negative clarity, was left by the stand of USSR Gosplan executives as set forth in A. Levikov's essay in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA for 16 December 1987. The author and other participants in a press conference conscientiously and persistently tried to obtain needed information on timely issues, but they were unable to do so.

In answering a direct question—"If state orders are issued that entirely swallow up production capacity, what becomes of the Law on the State Enterprise?" (and other similar questions, formulated even more pointedly)—L. Vid, deputy chairman of Gosplan, could not say anything more intelligible than: "It will be necessary to work hard, exceeding the five-year plan."

Materials from a round-table discussion held by IZVESTIYA and the Moscow City Party Committee that were published in IZVESTIYA for 28 December 1987 ("Economic Reform: Assignment for Tomorrow: Directors of Moscow Enterprises Discuss the Problems of Shifting to Self-Financing and Full Cost Accounting")

also looked one-sided. The discussion came down to the directors' setting forth problems that had already been mentioned. No constructive proposals for solving them were heard from the representatives of Gosplan, the USSR State Bank, and the USSR State Committee on prices who took part in the round table. And the newspaper's editors failed to sort matters out clearly in their commentaries, either.

I want to say once again: the processes of economic and social reform have raised extremely complex questions. Nonetheless, journalists could be more purposeful and persistent in attempting to get clear answers.

#### And Now "Frustration" Too

The concept of "frustration" is used frequently in the psychological literature. Here is how the "Kratkiy psichologicheskiy slovar" [Short Psychological Dictionary] explains it: "A psychological state that arises as the result of a real or imagined obstacle preventing the attainment of a goal. It manifests itself in a sense of oppressive tension, anxiety, despair, anger, etc." Usually the defense mechanism with frustration is to avoid difficult and, especially, insoluble situations, to change one's attitude toward the goal that has been set, devaluating that goal, or to develop passivity and a feeling of apathy and indifference.

This applies to the individual, but let us recall Karl Marx's words to the effect that history is made by living human beings. Therefore, when what is involved is a major social goal, the feeling of frustration can encompass many people and, consequently, one can speak of social frustration as a psychological state of society or some part of it. I do not want to exaggerate matters, but difficulties, especially difficulties that are created by people themselves and do not receive adequate explanation, form the prerequisites for the development of a feeling of frustration that can express itself in doubts regarding the objectives of restructuring, or even in a belief that they cannot be accomplished.

If the departments that are directly responsible for a given sphere of economic or social activity are incapable of providing journalists with a satisfactory explanation of their positions, the journalists obviously should appeal to higher offices—for example, to the USSR Council of Ministers. In matters of economic restructuring, evidently, it alone would be able to explain the state of affairs that exists at many enterprises. But as far as I know, there have been no such appeals. What is stopping our press today, in a period of glasnost, is not clear. Most likely it is the legacy of old notions and traditions.

Sometimes you read good, clear articles—about, for example, the fact that two ministries have been unable to decide for years which of them should do what in some disputed issue, while the state, in the meantime, sustains immeasurable losses. And it would seem that these two ministries exist in some sort of vacuum, that there is no

USSR Council of Ministers, no USSR Supreme Soviet and no CPSU Central Committee, and that if the ministries themselves cannot come to an agreement, no other solution can be found. For many years the press was forced to be an accomplice in the creation of such situations, since the boundaries of its interference in the problems of society's life were silently but clearly defined. But times have changed! Has the state of affairs?

Let us look at matters from another perspective. Wouldn't journalists' appealing with specific business questions to deputies and members of various soviet committees as to people who are genuinely responsible to their constituents help enhance the soviets' prestige and develop their activeness? Of course, many interviews with deputies are published. But, unfortunately, they are usually pro forma, rather than businesslike, in nature. So far, in the old tradition, portraits of deputies are published and information is provided about their successes in their jobs, rather than in their work as deputies. Here is one example. IZVESTIYA for 26 December 1987 published a photograph of a deputy with the explanation: "Zoya Ilyinichna Kovshova, deputy to the USSR Supreme Soviet, deputy chairman of the republic women's council, a weaver who handles multiple looms at the Darnitskiy Silk Combine. It is already 1990 on her work calendar."

With the development of glasnost and criticism, mentions in the press of CPSU obkoms and direct appeals to them, including appeals to their secretaries, have become rather common. But even on purely party matters there is no practice of making direct appeals to the CPSU Central Committee. Journalists do not appeal to it, and consequently some newspaper discussions prove fruitless and incomplete, and leave readers with a feeling of vagueness and uncertainty.

V. I. Lenin's attentive and interested attitude toward the press is well known. And he saw nothing reprehensible about publicly, either orally or in articles, responding to some item in the newspapers; he might vigorously support something, or he might sharply criticize it.

In our society at present it is for some reason—probably under the influence of those same old traditions—"not done" for higher officials to take the initiative in responding to an important item in the press. There is no doubt, of course, that articles in the press are taken into account and find reflection in the decrees and decisions of central agencies. But it is no less important that an operative system of feedback exist between the mass news media and those agencies. So far, usually neither the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the USSR Council of Ministers, nor the CPSU Central Committee respond, or they hardly ever respond. This may be attributable to the tactfulness of the comrades who hold important offices on the executive bodies. They probably suppose that any view they express might be taken as a directive and thereby violate democratic principles in the work of the mass media. I think that such a position

is not entirely warranted today; after all, it is always possible to clearly draw the line between what is simply an opinion and what is a directive, especially since good examples of this can already be found in the speeches of M. S. Gorbachev. He may express a specific demand, and he may simply share his reflections. The danger is not that a given opinion may be taken as a directive, but that outright directives are by no means always carried out by those to whom they are addressed.

#### To Avoid Drowning in a Sea of Figures

Now for a discussion of economic information. After the October Revolution, when the country was taking its first steps under the conditions of incredible destruction, it was perfectly natural to report every new plant or factory, every electric power station, the first Soviet tractor, the first motor vehicle. Then these really were events of a nationwide scale, and they gladdened and inspired people.

Since then a great deal of water has flowed under the bridge, while the basis of current economic reporting remains the same. The central press continues to report in the same way (in the oblast or local press this might be justifiable) about new shops and blast furnaces, power station generating units, or houses of culture built on sovkhozes or kolkhozes. Yet all this "news" has become an everyday occurrence. Every day something is built, put into production, completed and started up. Therefore, from a psychological standpoint these are no longer "events," and when an attempt is made to pass them off as such in the press, they are perceived as "pseudo-events" that elicit either boredom or irritation. Moreover, empty blather over imaginary and real accomplishments, as well as the distorted statistics and abstract figures regarding "gross output" that for many years disguised the real state of affairs, have inculcated in the Soviet audience, to put it mildly, a skeptical attitude toward that sort of information.

The persisting devotion to the old, slogan forms of propaganda gives rise to contradictory and unpersuasive articles that often create a negative psychological effect.

Here are just two examples. Issue No 22 of ARGUMENTY I FAKTY for 1986 presents a diagram of tractor production in the USSR in percentages of U.S. production that indicates that in 1983 we produced so many tractors that they amounted to 421 percent of those produced in America. That looks impressive! But issue No 32 of that same ARGUMENTY I FAKTY for the same year reports that labor productivity in agriculture in the USSR in 1984 was approximately 20-25 percent of the US level.

How is one to understand 421 percent of tractor production in comparison to the figure for labor productivity? Obviously, only as an illustration of our economic mismanagement, the poor quality of our tractors, and our helplessness in labor organization.

Yet this figure was cited for other purposes, as an index of our accomplishments! Obviously, when we set the task of developing economic thinking, figures need to be used in relation to other data, accompanied by an analytical evaluation of a given problem as a whole.

Attempts to give an appraisal of "good" to what in reality is "good, but not very good" appear unnatural. Let's say, an article that attempts to persuade readers that a family of five lives quite decently on 300 rubles, is well fed and clothed, and even puts money aside for vacations to the South, will hardly evoke positive feelings in those readers. (When, moreover, it turns out that the head of the family is a physician who earns one and a half times the basic salary, while his wife is a technicum teacher who earns 120 rubles). And it turns out quite badly if those same readers come across another newspaper where an attempt is made to prove what a hard life is led by a childless couple consisting of two students in the FRG whose budget, when an elementary conversion is made, turns out to be higher than that of the aforementioned Soviet family of five—even when the FRG couple's high rent is taken into account.

So-called "seasonal chronicles"—about planting campaigns, the laying-in of fodder, the harvesting of crops—are thoroughly aggravating. Year in and year out, over the entire history of the Soviet regime, hackneyed news stereotypes have been repeated: how many hectares have been sowed (or mowed, or harvested) in this or that oblast, how many tractors and combines turn out to have been either repaired and serviced or unprepared for work, how many trucks have been sent where. Against this background, reports about the immense amounts of grain lost in transit and about the shortage of elevators, about the millions of tons of vegetables and fruit that have been ruined in the course of shipment and storage, and about the death of livestock and spoilage of harvested meat, constitute another annual refrain. And the next year nothing changes, either in life or in the press. Everything is repeated from the beginning.

I have already explained what cognitive dissonance is. Our existing model for providing economic information represents an ideal basis for the creation of cognitive dissonance. People resolve this dissonance either by ignoring the entire economic chronicle, or by deceiving themselves by perceiving only the positive (or only the negative) part of the information, or they just fall into a state of social apathy. To make healthy sense of the existing situation there is no other way out. In a relatively small study done among students in 1987, we attempted to find out what sort of economic information they found most interesting. It turned out that what drew their attention first of all were reports on facts in economic life that were directly or indirectly related to an improvement in Soviet citizens' well-being. In second place was information about events of importance to the state as a whole. Third place was occupied by articles about major innovations in the sphere of organization

and management and discoveries in production technology. Information about isolated facts in economic life and, especially, about the "leading lights of production" not only aroused no interest in those who were questioned, but actually produced a negative reaction.

Economic statistics continues to report data about the quantity of production output. But everyone knows quite well that by no means everything produced by industry is sold and used. Thus, perhaps, in lieu of the traditional "production" indices—or along with them—we ought to provide information about what has been sold, and about how quickly and to what extent the demand of people and enterprises for products has been met.

If our press will use such data and demand them from the appropriate departments, that will permit it to create a more realistic and interesting picture of economic processes.

And one more question that I think needs serious attention from scholars and journalists: Aren't we placing an excessively one-sided emphasis on exclusively economic methods of economic management and, in particular, on exclusively material forms of incentives for people's activeness and initiative? M. Antonov's essay "When a Breakthrough Comes" (SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, 7 August 1988), which contained a critical appraisal of some positions taken by our economists, prompted me to reflect.

Over the past two decades a special field of psychology known as management psychology has been developed in the West. It might more accurately be called the social psychology of organization and management: it studies the entire spectrum of human relations at all levels of organizational structures and production relations. (In our country the development of this discipline has been proceeding at a slow pace, and research has so far been limited, by and large, to the level of production collectives, brigades, and brigade councils, although the problem of the human personality has long required a broader and deeper approach.)

So, a great deal of research done in the West has shown that increasing material incentives, especially wages, "works" only up to a certain, extremely limited point. Beyond that point raising wages ceases to work as an incentive, and other requirements and interests come to the fore.

In the past few decades the Japanese economy has achieved striking successes. In the 1970s managers from the United States and Western Europe started making pilgrimages to Japan to study experience there. Their main conclusion: the principal success factor consisted in the management system. In that connection, the words of Matsushita, a leading light of Japanese management who established a company for the production of electronics products, were recalled. "For me it is

becoming clear that people need to somehow connect their work life with the interests of society." The most remarkable thing about these words is that they were spoken by a major capitalist in contradiction of the whole customary logic of capitalism, whose god was and still is profits. They attest to a good understanding of the sociopsychological characteristics of human nature. Matsushita was the first one in Japan to develop a special code of norms and values for his company's workers, and even an anthem. Matsushita's whole philosophy and his company's code come down to one idea: it is not profits that constitute the company's purpose; its chief objective is the service of society, and profits are only an expression of society's recognition of the company's services to it. It followed from this that every employ serves society, and his reward is society's gratitude.

We shall not deal with the question of the fact that capitalist exploitation remains exploitation, regardless of what slogans are used to conceal it. Nor will we tell about the specific organization of the entire management system in Matsushita's company. The main thing in this unfamiliar approach for capitalism (an approach, incidentally, that extremely impressed the American managers) is that it reflects an understanding of the psychological need for a moral and ideological justification for a

person's work efforts. Without such a justification, life becomes meaningless, even if it is accompanied by complete material well-being.

This is especially important for Soviet people, who, despite all the tragic upheavals of our history, have still lived under the influence of certain ideas and ideals. It is not their fault that these ideas and ideals were perverted. Today it is extremely important to revive them in their true form and help people believe in them again. Without that, it will be impossible to accomplish a revolution either in people's minds or in their activities.

What has said casts no doubts on the necessity and usefulness of economic methods of economic management and material incentives. We are only speaking of not succumbing once again to the tendency we for some reason have to rush from one extreme to another, and of not reducing the economic reform to lurching from bare slogans and crude administration by fiat to pedestrian economic pragmatism. It is necessary, obviously, to work out a balanced model for the organization of economic life under conditions of socialism that includes both economic mechanisms and the spiritual and moral aspect of motivation for work.

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**Soviets Rediscovering Philosophy Classics**  
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[Article by Nelli Motroshilova, D.Sc. (Philosophy), head of the Department of History and Philosophy at the Institute of Philosophy of the USSR Academy of Sciences]

[Text] Hans-Georg Gadamer, resides in Heidelberg, West Germany, and is considered one of the great philosophers of the 20th century. However, his name, to say nothing about his works, is known to few experts in this country. This situation is not the result of some special attitude towards Gadamer: the same treatment has been accorded the overwhelming majority of the outstanding foreign philosophers here.

Our intellectual isolationism began long ago. The betrayal of the Russian tradition of familiarizing the reading public with translations of the most profound works by philosophers from other countries dates from the mid-1920s. True, genuine philosophy continued to develop in this country following its own internal laws, which prevented a complete rupture of ties with the world's philosophy. However, that isolationism arrested the process of bringing the experience of world philosophy to the general public, and consequently to the country's culture.

Of course, a lot of the blame for that rests with philosophers, or more precisely with dogmatists working in philosophy, who denigrated "contemporary bourgeois philosophy" as something harmful, utterly reactionary and absolutely unacceptable to us, doing it with a personal zeal and without any outside pressure. Entire generations were brought up in the belief that there couldn't be any real philosophy "there".

There were certain positive developments in the 1960-80s, which happened not of their own accord but through efforts of people who were attempting to lift the shroud of isolation kept in place by the bureaucrats of culture. It was a long, hard battle for the translations of individual works by Ludwig Wittgenstein, Bertrand Russell, Karl Popper and other philosophers to find their way to the Soviet public. We had to wait for a long time for the publication of works by Claude Levi-Strauss and Michel Foucault.

Outstanding works of 20th-century philosophy—including major works by Edmund Husserl, Martin Heidegger, Gabriel Marcel, Alfred North Whitehead, Jose Ortega y Gasset, among others—remain literally closed books for us.

Presently, certain publishers in this country—Nauka, Progress, Mysl, Iskusstvo—are mapping out plans for publishing translated works representing Western philosophy in the 20th century. However, there are certain

impediments here. Regrettably, the plans are for publishing only one to three books a year, which means that we shall not catch up until the turn of the century. Unavoidably, this will prolong our backwardness and create a new lag.

True, publishing such books quickly is a very difficult task, not only because of printing problems but also because of certain snags inherent in the preparation of translations. This matter has for decades been neglected and high-class translation work has been done only through the selfless efforts of a few enthusiasts. Publishers' fees for such work are humiliating—about 100 roubles for every author's list (40,000 typographical units). First-class translators of philosophical works in other countries are paid on the same scale as translators of literary works.

There's another problem; namely, the print run. Frankly speaking, it is quite understandable that officials responsible for making these decisions are dubious as to the value of authorizing large editions of works by foreign philosophers. So a "print boss" decides on a run of 25-30,000 copies, amazed by his own "daring". He can get into trouble for authorizing an excessive run, while he is unlikely to be held responsible for an insufficient run. As the result, such books "unexpectedly" turn out to be snatched up in a matter of few days. But it is clear why this happens: there's always a thirst for profound philosophical writing in a culture that is quickly developing and renewing itself, especially following a period of artificially-created isolationism.

In this connection, I would like to return to Hans-Georg Gadamer. What is so appealing about his works and his personality for us? Gadamer appears to me to be among those few thinkers who is heir to the great traditions of ancient civilization. This is the impression one gets from reading his words and from personal contacts with him (I was lucky enough to meet Gadamer and experience his personality firsthand). This country has had an equally prominent figure of world importance—Alexei Losev.

Hans-Georg Gadamer devoted his life and talent to the cause of preserving and renewing the priceless traditions of the culture, both of antiquity and of modern times, the cause of preserving values of beauty and goodness in a time of cataclysm, and the cause of understanding the importance of the renewal of mankind's cultural traditions. Therefore, I would propose to the "print bosses" that at least 50,000 copies of Gadamer's works would sell out quickly. I invite all readers interested in contemporary Western culture, philosophy and aesthetics to jump at the opportunity and buy the translated works of this outstanding 20th-century philosopher, for yourselves and future generations.

**Pentecostals, Atheists Discuss Relations**  
18000836 *Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA*  
30 Mar 89 p 2

[Article by A. Borov: "Meeting with Believers."]

[Text] I would, nevertheless, like to talk about this meeting. Our photographer and I came across it quite by accident. We went to Tokmak in order to "cast some light" on how the main center of art in the city - the Palace of Culture - operates. And on the schedule of "events" at the entrance we suddenly read about the meeting.

This was the order of events. As early as July of last year, representatives of the city's Society of Evangelist Christians (who we usually call Pentecostals) went to the party gorkom. They made the following request: we usually have the reputation of being evil people with anti-Soviet tendencies. But this is not at all true. We would like to organize a meeting where we can talk about ourselves and our views and share ideas in an open discussion. But the secretary at that time did not "compute" ideologically . . . Then late in the fall, the city party conference was held. A new secretary was elected. I have known her for two years already. Her name is Tatyana Pechkina, a graduate of Frunze school No. 16. She has lived in Tokmak for about five years ago, at first she taught geography in school, then did Komsomol work, then became head of the propaganda department of the party gorkom. We talked it over - why not hold this kind of meeting? There are already a total of three political discussion clubs in the city - at the industrial pedagogical technical school, at the Palace of Culture and at the worsted spinning mill. So we have experience. What is there to fear?

...On that winter's evening in a brightly lit auditorium, the largest at the "PC", which is what the inhabitants of Tokmak call their Palace of Culture, magazine tables were set up, and on two of them were tea and cookies. To the left were seated the parishioners, headed by their presbyter, David Danilovich Peters. And to the right were the non-believers and atheists, mainly pedagogues, teachers at the city's educational institutions. Nikolai Chernetsov, head of the office of political enlightenment of the gorkom, led the discussion. I noticed that at first he seemed ill-at-ease. But gradually, as things "warmed up" in the auditorium, and the meeting became more animated, open, truly humane and friendly, turning from a somewhat cautious first encounter to a lively and interesting discussion, the leader (he also had a co-chairman from the believers) became easier and more relaxed.

In my opinion, the gorkom did the right thing - the following leaflet had been prepared for this evening: "Dear comrades! We will be discussing the following questions concerning the topic, "The Meaning and Purpose of Life." 1. Where does individuality begin? 2. What kind of person does modern society need? 3. What

does a person live for? 8. What is conscience? 9. What is your understanding of good and evil, love and friendship. 10. What does it mean to be a patriot and internationalist? 11. Do you feel perestroyka is having an effect on you: if so, in what way? And the last, the twelfth: "Since society is made up of both atheists and believers, how should they relate to one another?"

You really never know where you will win and where you will lose. I have been around for quite a while, have served in the party for 45 years now and, it seems, have been to a great many different discussions and talks. Could I have expected to come across such a captivatingly interesting, not at all provincial, meeting in Tokmak, which is by no means the capital? Thank God (forgive me my atheism!), there was not a hint of pretension. But what was there? The spirit of perestroyka reigned: we looked each other directly in the eye and said what we thought (I say "we" because I am sorry to say that I could not resist taking a small part in the discussion). And there was no "smoothness", recently so coveted and rehearsed beforehand. It was a debate, a clash of opinions, but the people spoke openly, without disdain and confrontation.

The people remembered it. This is the second time Genrikh Trippel, driver of a PMK-4 [expansion unknown], has passionately spoken out. He is concerned by the prejudice against Germans which is still prevalent in some places. And he is answered with equal passion by a German woman, a Methodist (methodologist) gorono (?) and a well-known propagandist in the city, Yelena Veliko. A specialist in the "matter", a nurse from an oncological dispensary, V. Ebergard, spoke beautifully about her understanding of charity. Sometimes an argument even arose among the atheists: when the urgent question of the reasons for the emigration of Soviet Germans to West Germany arose, a debate ensued: a teacher, V. Petrov, argued with the chairman of the agricultural technical school, V. Trosman. And one of the believers said, "We support Gorbachev and perestroyka with all our hearts. And as soon as we found out about the disaster in Armenia we sent them our savings."

It appears that this good experience of the Tokmak party gorkom may have a great deal to teach. Primarily, in my opinion, that there is no need to be cowardly. Courage, I feel, is a compulsory virtue of any party employee (that is to say - a revolutionary).

The discussion lasted a long time, more than three hours. At the end, they decided to hold another meeting, this time "with the aid" of the youth. Yes, I admit it: when everyone had left, I could not resist saying to N. Chernetsov, "But where are our booklets?" The point was that as we said good-bye, the believers presented us with their publications. Here they are in front of me, beautifully printed in the Russian, Kirghiz and German languages: "The Basis of the Christian Faith," "Zhakshy kabar" ("The Acts of the Apostles" published by the special Institute for the Translation of the Bible) and "Forgiveness".

It is not right for us to continue to allow propaganda to dictate our views, it is not right...

**New Cathedral To Be Built in Tbilisi**  
*18001237*

[Editorial Report] Tbilisi MOLODEZH GRUZII in Russian on 30 May 1989 carries on page 3 a 500-word article reporting that a new church is to be built in Tbilisi. Construction of the new Holy Trinity Cathedral is to coincide with commemoration of the 1,500 year anniversary of the Georgian Autocephalous Church. Both Georgian and "foreign" architects have been invited to submit plans for the cathedral. The patriarch will make the final decision on which plan is selected.

The cathedral is to be erected on the "historic left bank of the city, above the Rike area of the city," a developed

area consisting of restaurants, shops, businesses. Architect Aleksandr Dzhaparidze comments that many architects are not pleased by the proposed site. He also states that "in planning and building new residential areas, it is necessary to take into consideration the construction of new churches."

Author of the article G. Tbileli notes that some architects were "categorically against" inviting foreign architects to submit plans for construction of the new cathedral, since "they are not familiar with the organics of Georgian architecture and, moreover, Georgian culture."

A competition will also be held to find the artists who will paint frescos within the cathedral.

Dzhaparidze notes that "every resident of Tbilisi and every Georgian is obliged to participate in construction of the church, even if just to bring a pebble and place it in this holy place."

**Western Disillusionment With Solzhenitsin Noted**  
*18001047 Moscow TRUD in Russian 12 May 89 p 4*

[Article by A. Vasilkov: "The Vermont Recluse"]

[Text] Certain Western journalists write with annoyance about the fact that Solzhenitsin refuses to receive them at his estate in the state of Vermont, near the town of Cavendish—where he has 20 wooded acres, a pond, house and outbuildings, etc. It is almost impossible to penetrate the estate; it is carefully guarded...

Last December Solzhenitsin was 70 years old. But this date passed quite unnoticed in the West. There were no public salutations or congratulatory messages on that special day; no magnificent celebrations; no brilliant speeches. It was only in a modest room at Hunter College in New York that a gathering took place, attended by about 100 people. Six people spoke, but five of the planned orators were demonstrably absent. And when it was suggested to sign ("whoever wishes to do so") a birthday card with six lines of message, only 35 expressed the desire.

And you see, quite recently Solzhenitsin was basking, as they say, in the rays of glory. The writer's appeals were widely heard on radio and television and in the press: "Do not trade with Russia; do not associate with it; arm yourselves as fast as possible..."

In 1984, Solzhenitsin published an article in the magazine RUSSIAN-AMERICAN, "What Threatens America is its Poor Understanding of Russia." Solzhenitsin constructed his thesis on two premises: communism is totally hostile to mankind; therefore no kind of coexistence with it on the same planet is possible; and, communism and Russia are incompatible and are hostile to one another...

This was, I believe, the final damnation the author of "One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich," and "Matrina's House," addressed to his Fatherland. Solzhenitsin did not permit himself any further remarks such as these. What does this mean? A sobering? A re-evaluation of his views? Reaction to the changes in our country? Temporizing? Of course, only the "Vermont recluse" himself knows the answers to these questions.

But here is what is characteristic, in my view. Recently the Nobel Prize-winning prosaist has begun to fall into disfavor among his former defenders. The number of his critics has literally multiplied. And who is not found among them: prosaists and poets, commentators and university professors, editors of emigre publications and journalists. The attacks on Solzhenitsin in the Western press have begun to resemble a premeditated campaign; moreover, there is no reticence in their statements: he is called a "monarchist," "the ayatollah," an "enemy of democracy," a "chauvinist," "the Grand Inquisitor," "the fifth column of Soviet propaganda," and so on.

A certain Lev Losev "delighted" the Russian-language press in the West with the following epigram:

There are all kinds of dwellings in Vermont  
One shelters an unsociable grandfather  
He wears a beard like Tolstoy  
And a tunic like Stalin's

And this is about Solzhenitsin! Of course one's attitudes toward him may vary. But such innuendo...

In my view the criticism of the "recluse" is impetuous, to put it mildly—it is a kind of warning, and vengeance on the part of certain circles: He has not lived up to our expectations, they say; we are not in control; he has "gone too far;" and therefore, bear in mind that we created the idol, and we can turn it over too. The fact of the matter is that in the opinion of his abusers, "Russian patriotism" has begun to permeate Solzhenitsin's creative position. Some have even begun to perceive chauvinism in the writer's works, and—anti-Semitism. They have publicly made the "newly-anointed ayatollah" anathema, asserting that he is fighting for the establishment of a dismal clerical regime in the future Russia, under which an individual's civil rights will completely disappear.

In 1988, at a meeting of Soviet emigre authors in Denmark, Professor Etkind called Solzhenitsin a writer who sows hatred. According to Etkind, Solzhenitsin is guilty of broaching the "Jewish theme" in his works. It turns out that Solzhenitsin, in one of his works, informs that the murder of Russian Prime Minister Stolypin—an advocate of the "great reforms"—was committed by the Jewish terrorist Bogrov. And it is this fact that has inflamed their passions. It would be interesting to note the reaction of such opponents of the writer if he had tampered with the historical truth, and had identified the terrorist as an Armenian, a Georgian, a Lithuanian, or let's say a Nanayets [ancient Khabarovsk tribe].

His critics suddenly perceived the prosaist guilty of the fact that in the "[Gulag] Archipelago" published in the US, the author included six photos of Gulag chiefs: they turned out to be people of Jewish descent. And this provided a pretext, specifically for Florida Congressman Laurence Smith, to declare: "This all might be historically accurate; but why must he mention that all the bad people were Jews?" Clearly, Solzhenitsin did not want to say that. But, alas, they say differently of him... It is strange, then, why "Archipelago" earlier received rave notices.

Having been subjected to vicious attacks, Solzhenitsin, according to the testimony of some of his loudest critics themselves, refuses to engage in polemics on this question. Only once, in a letter to a journalist at the NEW YORK TIMES did he briefly speak out: "A true writer cannot be an anti-Semite."

In an interview Solzhenitsin gave to West German writer R. Augstein, published in *DER SPIEGEL* in August 1987, the writer twice cried out bitterly: "They tell lies about me, as they lie about the dead."

Early last year, foreign telegraph agencies in London, Paris, New York and Bonn reported that Solzhenitsin allegedly received an invitation from the Soviet leadership to return to the USSR, and that he accepted it. This "sensation" was brought to light by one Nevel, a Munich correspondent of the major West German radiostation *BAYRISCHE RUNDFUNK*, who stated that he in fact had personally visited Solzhenitsin at his home in the state of Vermont, and later had a telephone conversation with the literary figure's wife.

According to Nevel, Mrs. Solzhenitsin complained of the fact that her husband, "pines for his Motherland"; that he needs his friends and wants to see his relatives. "He also needs to hear the Russian language; he cannot write fruitfully in the West; for he has no inspiration here," said the reporter, quoting N. Solzhenitsina again.

The American press agency, *ASSOCIATED PRESS*, poured oil on the fire on 15 July 1988, when it spread the "report" of a certain Terence Pekki in Bonn, declaring that: "Alexandr Solzhenitsin, the dissident writer who was forced to leave his Motherland 14 years ago, has accepted the invitation of Mikhail Gorbachev to visit the Soviet Union. All Solzhenitsin's books, including 'Gulag Archipelago,' which had been subjected to criticism, will be published for the first time in the Soviet Union."

Pekki then "clarified," that Solzhenitsin was allegedly sent two letters... In the letters he was supposedly offered total carte blanche: to publish in the USSR everything, "including his most seditious books." Pekki, who spread this conjecture, affirmed that our country needs such "critics" as Solzhenitsin, "for only critics can bring about changes in the Soviet Union."

Whether Solzhenitsin returns to the Soviet Union or not is his personal business. As M. Tsvetayeva wrote as early as 1931, "Only one who can conceive of Russia apart from himself need be afraid of forgetting her. To one for whom Russia is within, he will lose Russia when his life is over."

Let us imagine something that, it seems, is quite real. Solzhenitsin suddenly decides to travel to his Motherland. One would think that he would not have any special problems with this. After all, A. Sinyavskiy and V. Voynovich have, for example, visited here without any hindrances. They looked around a little, talked for a bit, and departed again.

But if he suddenly decided to return forever? The consequences of such a decision might be extremely unfavorable for those who believe that they have a "monopoly" on manipulating Solzhenitsin and his popularity. In the West certain people are expressing the

opinion that Solzhenitsin's return to the USSR would provide, as American Sovietologist D. Dunlop stated, "a significant impetus to the rise of Russian nationalist feelings in the conditions of glasnost." And then he adds that Solzhenitsin, "with his spotless reputation as a Russian patriot could become a significant power, capable of bringing about moderation."

For now, discussions on the topic of what would be, if Solzhenitsin were to return are—like reading tea leaves. The "Vermont Recluse" is mysteriously silent. Nor has he anything to say about the events taking place in his Motherland, which have captured the attention of the entire world.

Here is a description of the way of life of the reclusive writer, given by the physician William Knaus, who has become a friend of the family. "He works in a spartan outbuilding, separated from the main house by a thick woods. None of his guests are allowed in it. Every single day, he is in his office at 7:00 AM. His old, too baggy trousers hang loosely about his thin legs. He wears a flannel shirt, over which he dons a sweater. Fumbling for a pen with his toil-hardened fingers, he squints up his eyes. And he writes—at least ten, and often 16 hours straight."

We will not guess, about what.

**Brezhnev's Award 'Compromised' Lenin Prize, Literature**

18120084 Moscow *MOSCOW NEWS* in English  
No 19, 14-21 May 89 p 16

[Article by Albert Plutnik: "An Award for Literature?"]

[Text] "We cannot wait for favors from nature; our task is to take them," said a Soviet horticulturist of the past. But what is there to take? What special favors are there? But my study is not about ecology. It's about a prize. In fact the prize, the most prestigious one, which Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev could not decline.

Here are two excerpts from speeches made at the ceremony in the Kremlin on March 31, 1980, where Brezhnev received the Lenin Prize for Literature.

S.S. Pakhomov, participant in the fighting on Malaya Zemlya (Little Land), former deputy chief of the political department of the 18th Army, retired colonel: "We, veterans of the Army, are well aware, and we wish to emphasize the tremendous personal merit of Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev in all that was accomplished by the heroic defenders of Little Land. Leonid Ilyich was always among the masses, on the line of defence, encouraging millions of people to go into battle, to heroism." (May I venture this remark: even if the voice of the chief of the political department was heeded in the 18th Army "by all", it couldn't have been "encouraging millions of people" for the simple reason that the army wasn't that size).

M.Ye. Dovzhik, Hero of Socialist Labor, leader of a team of tractor drivers and crop growers at the Shuisky state farm in the Atbasar district of the Tselinograd Region: "Your remarkable books 'Little Land', 'Rebirth' and 'The Virgin Lands' have become for us all wise textbooks of life. The Soviet people derive tremendous inspiration from them again and again."

"The Soviet people" are you and me. Not our long dead ancestors who can neither confirm the idea nor refute it. Not those who are yet to be born. It is us. And it's not all the same to us whether there is truth in those words. So when you read or reread Brezhnev's books try to recall if you derived from them tremendous inspiration.

As for me, wishing to catch up on my reading, I went to the library the other day to get the "wise textbooks of life". The librarian, a friend of mine, looked suspicious rather than surprised when she handed me the books: "Why this longing?" alone in my room I read the stuff. Do you know what I thought?

I thought about the kind of righteous anger that more than once in our history was voiced in the press and at important forums when some of our fellow countrymen were awarded the Nobel Prize. The British, Americans, French, and Arabs all usually rejoice at such a rare success for their countrymen. They rejoice like little children thinking that the award not only brings honor to that individual, but also to their country whose contribution to the world civilization has been confirmed once again. Our official reaction is more often than not far from rejoicing. Our officials curse or marvel at the Nobel Prize Committee being so indiscriminate, having such poor taste, or being so biased. Bunin was the wrong man. Pasternak was even worse. Brodsky? Times seem to have changed, and you can take a broader look at things, but the reaction to his award still came after a long delay.

Perhaps the Nobel Prize Committee might take a lesson from our committee for the Lenin and State Prizes on how to be unbiased. Each of its decisions hits the nail right on the head. I'd better not take up your time listing these decisions to confirm the "well-known facts". Let me only mention in passing that one of the holders of our Grand Prix for literature and the arts was the former aide to the former General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, former department head, former General Secretary Konstantin U. Chernenko.

Reading L.I. Brezhnev today you keep wondering, what does this have to do with literature? And after some research, you can see that, foreseeing possible attacks from connoisseurs, our wise Committee gave the author the award not for just pure literature but also for "tireless" fighting for "peace". But why for literature at all? Why not biology or medicine? Well, find an appropriate person and the award will not be lacking. We could see this once more learning that L.I. Brezhnev all of a sudden, many years after the war, became a Hero of the Soviet Union. He wanted to be one and he became

one. He was that resolute. It can't be ruled out that the Lenin Prize was awarded to him because he wanted it. And why not? In the final analysis, everything is in our power. Everything, including "nature's favors" which we are impatient to take.

Being impatient, we have learned to create them using our own powers, though not everything. We still can't grow good crops without nature's rain, warmth and sunlight. But as regards the making of outstanding people out of those already designated to hold important positions in the Party and the government... Well, if someone needs to be outstanding, we can do this for him, that is we'll name him outstanding and that's the end of it.

No one is going to argue against the fact that the awarding to L.I. Brezhnev of the Lenin Prize was part of the broad campaign to build up the prestige of the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. So, looking back, one can gradually reconstruct the "process", study the technique of glorification, the mechanics of growing a "great man" in a test tube.

For example, if one is to prove that Leonid Ilyich is a remarkable man of letters, you have to first find out who are those unknown authors who generously contributed their efforts to make the prizewinner much more widely recognized "across the nation" than themselves. They all write under the most prestigious pen-name, L.I. Brezhnev. I don't know who they are. I think they are very different and far from always mercenary. Some of them probably went to work thinking they were contributing in a major way towards a sensible restructuring of our life. Because they knew how decisive the word of the top leader can be. So they thought of the most sensible, weighty and humane words to put into the great man's mouth, so that he could do society a good service. As a matter of fact, each unprejudiced reader can find a lot of correct, sensible and noble ideas in the "trilogy". Having found them one can see that, given today's facts about the stagnation period, isolated and fragmentary truth can't accomplish anything by itself. There is no end of evidence from the most diverse epochs, including the current one, where truthful words can be said with little impact on matters at hand.

The "great leader" wanted to become a famous writer and he became one.

Had he lived in a different environment, he would have never had this wish. But there was someone who thought it advantageous if the "boss" constantly wanted things he was not capable of, to which he had no legal right. Someone had to artfully fuel his vanity, conceit and wilfulness, to nurture these traits in his character for his own benefit, not for the benefit of the "great leader". The matter is that when the cult of a person is being created, other persons who hover about the deified person are

lost in the glare of the spotlight. And this is precisely what many want—to become invisible. Many seek this as eagerly as others seek fame. It's hard to say which position pays more.

I have cited only two speakers. There were also others, much more important. The first two, Pakhomov and Dovzhik, spoke at the event as rank-and-file members of "the people". Lacking professional skills, they could be mistaken in their opinions about the books and be delighted over the wrong things.

But let's first say what the laureate thought about his efforts. He thought highly about them. Having said that fulfilling Lenin's mandate to Party functionaries "to write contemporary history", he wrote the best he could for different publications before he finally decided to sum up his experiences. L.I. Brezhnev continued: "As I was writing my notes, I didn't think about myself, or even perhaps about the past, I thought that the past experience might be of use to people today."

Passing judgments on this pronouncement and about the ceremony that took place nine years ago, we think about the same things. We think about today and even about tomorrow. We think about that reading the following passage from Georgi M. Markov's speech at the ceremony (for many years Chairman of the Committee for the Lenin and State Prizes for Literature, Art and Architecture of the USSR Council of Ministers and himself a worthy member of the artistic elite awarded Lenin Prizes). He said: "Millions upon millions of people in this country and abroad regard these books as an ardent and truthful account... One can safely say that the books written by Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev are unrivaled for their popularity and impact on masses of readers."

Just ponder this "theater of the absurd". The author, gets an award for books he never wrote. And then he proceeds to tell about how he wrote them. And a professional writer who, one may surmise, knows what is what, goes on to demonstrate before the entire civilized world that he doesn't care a rap about what millions upon millions of connoisseurs of genuine cultural values might think about him. More important, he cares nothing about decency. After all, he is not unique in what I might describe as being absolutely unscrupulous. He is flanked by like-minded, enlightened readers like a winner of the Lenin Prize and vice-president of the USSR Academy of Sciences Academician Yu.A. Ovchinnikov, and poet E.B. Miezelaits who is a Hero of Socialist Labor and winner of the Lenin Prize.

Here are some views from the Academy man: " 'Little Land' is a profound philosophical and psychological study in the Soviet character. It takes Lenin's principles of guiding masses of people through the most critical moments of history a step further... The 'Virgin Lands' is a dramatic evidence of Leonid Ilyich's invaluable personal contribution to the elaboration of modern agricultural policy. This is an achievement of the foremost

scientific thinking concentrated in the ringing ears of the wheat grown in the virgin lands." The lengths to which a member of the Academy went! He maintains that what someone writes about himself is evidence of his own invaluable contribution.

I'm deeply grieved with what Eduardas Miezelaits, a respected and deservedly loved poet, said: "You have deserved the title of a winner of a prize named after the great Lenin, the most humane man among humans, for your Leninist attitude to people which is so spectacularly revealed in your celebrated trilogy. I'm speaking here as one of your readers, a Communist, and of course, as a professional author..."

Impudence and permissiveness are things that strike me most forcibly when I read yesterday's account about the award ceremony in the present context. One had to care very little about the country's people and its intellectuals, all thinking progressive and regressive mankind, to openly fawn and cringe in order to allegedly boost another man's authority. In the process they compromised the Lenin Prize, literature in general, and more importantly, the country.

Take it or leave it, but for decades it had been an important part of our social and political history to openly worship the leader. And those who plied the trade, far from having been discouraged, were promoted and were earning prizes, decorations and other goodies. They ran no other risk. Do you think they were shunned for having been thus promoted, with their access to higher places?

In this way, lies were morally justified, as it were, because higher-ups delighted in them.

No, one shouldn't pity yesterday's singers of praises to authors of "textbooks of life". One shouldn't think that they had been forced or tricked into it. How could a state farm team leader, or "even" an Academy member with a guaranteed income be forced to mouth the things cited above? Why couldn't they at least volunteer not to speak?

The most interesting part is that they didn't simply volunteer, they actually competed for the right. They were the lucky devils. A prize in a lottery. In fact other aspirants were legion. While people queue for everything here, that queue was the longest. Utter a word—and armies of volunteers come running, and they will say what is expected of them, regardless of what they themselves think. If need be they are prepared not to think at all. Here's the most depressing part of it: there have always been too many people here eager to prove their loyalty, not to the truth, but to a high-ranking authority, to please a high official so as to pledge their support in the future, to be noticed, and rewarded, of course.

A new ruling on awarding the Lenin and State Prizes has just been passed. The prestige of these prizes has sunk markedly over the past decade. It should be raised. And there is no doubt about that. First and foremost the prestige can be boosted by never again turning them into a refined form of bribes to high-placed Party and government officials, a form of abetting immorality and servility.

**Statistics Show Loss in Theater, Concert Attendance in Ukraine**  
18001003a Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian  
27 Mar 89 p 3

[Article by A. Povnitsa: "The Footlights Reflected in the Mirror Of Statistics: The Ukrainian Theater and Concert Stage Today"]

[Text] To give the readers of PRAVDA UKRAINY an idea of theatrical and concert life in our republic today, we are using the mirror of omniscient statistics. Go ahead, mirror, tell all....

How many professional theaters and concert organizations are there in the Ukraine now?

A total of 115 theaters and 41 concert organizations, including 25 oblast philharmonics.

Two years ago there were a great many fewer theaters—88. Has the "birth rate" increased?

Definitely. During the last two years alone, 27 studio theaters working on a self-financing basis under collective contracts were born.

And how do they break down according to genre?

In the republic there are 7 opera and ballet theaters, 73 presenting drama, comedies, musical dramas and comedies, one-acts, and variety shows, and also 35 children's and young people's theaters. We would like to get a general idea about their productions.

Last year, the ballet and opera theaters gave 2 thousand performances, and there were 23 thousand dramas, comedies, etc., but the most performances were put on by children's and young people's theaters—25 thousand. In total this amounted to 1 thousand more performances than in 1985.

And what was the "harvest" of audiences?

The opera and ballet attracted 1,780,000 people, the children's and young people's theaters—7,379,00, and all the rest—10,189,00. The total audience numbered 19.3 million.

Is that more people than in 1985?

Alas it is fewer, by 1.3 million people.

It would be interesting to compare the number of visits to the theater per 100 inhabitants.

Here are the data for last year: opera and ballet - 4 (visits), children's and young people's theater - 14, drama, comedy, and the rest—20. The total number of visits per 100 inhabitants was 38. Only opera and ballet are currently at their 1985 level, the other theaters have lost audiences. The number of concerts attended per 100 inhabitants has also decreased—from 41 in 1985 to 39 in 1988. And last year there were a total 61 thousand concerts given in the report, attended by 20 million people. Every fifth play and every fourth concert were given for rural inhabitants.

This numerical information, made available to us by the USSR Goskomstat (State Statistical Bureau), gives one pause. More theaters, more performances are good, but why is the theater, which has never been pampered by its audiences (especially the provincial theater), losing them? Are the theater and modern dramaturgy not meeting our new needs and expectations, are they not keeping up with the fast pace of our lives, are they failing to put on the stage the topical and exciting conflicts and problems of our lives. Are there problems in the practical organization of theatrical affairs, or in the organization of the creative process? Are the necessary conditions not being created for theatrical artists? Is there something the matter with propaganda for the theater? In searching for the answers to these questions, it is useful to look into the mirror of statistics.

**Editor of NEVA Describes Reasons for Journal's Popularity**

18001003 Minsk ZNAMYA YUNOSTI in Russian  
23 Mar 89 p 2

[Interview with Boris Nikolskiy, editor-in-chief of the journal NEVA by correspondent Ye. Aleksandrova: "The Measure of Truth"]

[Text] Over the last 3 years, the literary journal NEVA has increased its circulation from 285 to 660 thousand. How can such an increase in popularity be explained? The editor-in-chief of the journal, writer Boris Nikolsky, answers question put by the Novosti Agency correspondent.

[Nikolskiy] Our increased circulation is an indicator of the publication's social activity. I would even say—a measure of truth. Our journal is endeavoring to speak the truth about the history of the country, about what is happening here today.

For NEVA the turning point was the publication of Vladimir Dudintsev's novel "White Linen." Today its author has been awarded the State Prize, and it would seem that during this era of perestroika it could not be otherwise. And yet this [i.e., publication of the novel] was not such a simple matter. There was even some talk about removing the novel and replacing it with another

one. The main difficulty was that no one actually said "no," but none of those who needed to say yes would do so. There was no opportunity to come face to face with whoever it was who did not want the manuscript to see the light of day. Moreover the novel was first going to be published by NOVYY MIR—a journal with strong fighting traditions, but it too was unable to get through the bureaucratic roadblocks.

We wanted to publish the novel without a single change. It is true we had to apply to the highest levels—from the heads of the Leningrad party committee to the CPSU Central Committees. By the way, at one of our meetings with readers, I was asked: "Nowadays do you write to Gorbachev about every piece in the journal?"

Fortunately, perestroyka is progressing and our working conditions are very different from those of 3, and even 2 years ago. Today we ourselves bear the responsibility for every publication. I think that placing all one's hopes on what is going to be handed down from above is a very comfortable position and the main impediment to perestroyka in all areas of life. If things succeed, we get the glory, if they fail the higher ups are to blame.

The major opposition we have had to overcome comes from below. Almost half of the journal's editors have been changed, and staff members have been replaced. There has been some difficulty about our relationships with our old authors. Our editorial portfolio contained works that had already been accepted and contracts that had already been signed. We had to take a financial loss, paying the authors a portion of their fees for breach of contract. After all, unfortunately, the journal did not have any kind of a "emergency fund."

After rejecting our old portfolio, we published "Requiem" by A. Akhmatova and the story, "Sofiya Petrovna," by L. Chukovskaya, written in 1939-1940. This, I think, is the first prose work that speaks about 1937, about the monstrous crimes that were committed. A. Kestler's novel "Blinding Darkness," was also published in NEVA. This is a wonderful and tragic novel, a true phenomenon in literary and social life. And it was not so long ago that even the author's name was banned here.

I could give many such examples, but the main thing is that our readers have realized that they were being spoken to in a different way and began to repay us with their trust. Our mail has undergone a radical change. People write about political, philosophical, and social problems raised in the journal. And how many epistolatory confessions, where readers speak of their own lives, we receive! This is also a kind of response to the works which we publish. NEVA's plans for the future include letters from exile by A. Efron (the daughter of M. Tsvetaevya), reminiscences of Akhmatova by L. Chukovskiy, and a novel/memoir by V. Kaverin called "Epilogue."

[Correspondent] Does this mean that you are only going to publish authors with well-known names?

[Nikolskiy] Absolutely not. We want to give an idea about how ordinary people lived, what they felt in that tragic epoch. For this reason, for instance, we have decided to publish an autobiographical work by N. Ivanovna-Romanova, called "Book of Life." This will be the literary debut of its 80-year old author, containing the true story of her own life and, what attracted us especially, a love, tragic, and unconsummated that she carried throughout her life.

[Correspondent] How do you understand the term "the social imperative" today and is it necessary?

[Nikolskiy] "I cannot remain silent," this is how the writer Leo Tolstoy once defined his position. If the needs of society and the author correspond on a certain topic—this is the social imperative.

[Correspondent] And your authors, how have they changed? Did you have to find new ones, or did the old ones "undergo restructuring"?

[Nikolskiy] Those who are now actively defending the ideas of perestroyka on the pages of the press, shared and defended these ideas in the past. They had no need to change their way of thinking. The Leningrad writer, V. Konetskiy has now become one of our regular authors. He always openly spoke out against the sway of censorship at meetings of writers and in encounters with party leaders! I myself was present at a meeting with the leaders of the Leningrad party obkom at which Konetskiy was the only person who told first secretary G. Romanov to his face everything he thought about our cultural situation.

[Correspondent] Has it gotten harder or easier to work?

[Nikolskiy] Definitely easier, since we are truly responsible for our word before the author. But more complicated too, since we are thinking constantly of how to keep from lowering our standards for the journal

#### **A. Zhukov Chosen To Head Publishing House 'Soviet Writer'**

*18001115a Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 24 May 89 p 2*

[Unattributed report: "The Chairman of the Board of the Publishing House "Soviet Writer" Has Been Chosen"]

[Text] Representatives of the union republics, Moscow, and Leningrad, and literary figures of various tendencies, schools and age groups were selected to be members of the board of this publishing house at the last plenum of the board of the USSR Writers' Union.

Now they had to vote. Speeches by T. Pulatov, A. Marchenko, M. Oleynik, A. Grigoryan, V. Koshinov, Yu. Karyakin, A. Atadzhanyan, A. Kushner, V. Makanin, N. Nikonorov, N. Panchenko, and others made it clear that for the post of head of the largest writers' publishing house they wanted someone who would not favor one group over another, who understands the need for a radical improvement in the performance of the publishing house, and is capable of consolidating the efforts of his colleagues.

Four candidates were nominated. Three - B. Mozhayev, A. Tamm, and Mussalitin - declined. A. Zhukov was selected chairman of the board of the "Soviet Writer" publishing house. It was decided that the next plenum would convene in October.

The first secretary of the board of the Writers' Union, V. Karpov, participated in the plenum.

**Russian Cultural Society 'Otechestvo' Formed**  
*18001115b Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 24 May 89 (2nd Ed.) p 2*

[Article by A. Ponomarev: "Otechestvo' Conference"]

[Text] On 20 May, the first conference of the Moscow city voluntary society of Russian culture, which had been registered a few weeks previously with Mossovet, convened in the "Pravda" House of Culture. The chairman of the founding committee, A. Kuzmin, spoke on the major principles and directions of the society's activity. He, in particular, commented on the paragraph in the charter that says that the "society will further the interests of international education of workers, raising the level of political activity directed at the cultural, economic, ecological and demographic rebirth of the Russian people and the peoples of Russia; he dwelt on the meaning of the concept "Otechestvo" (fatherland).

The famous writers, I. Stadnyuk, V. Sorokin, V. Ganichev and the scholars, O. Tikhomirov, V. Iskakov, and representatives of the veterans of the USSR Armed Forces, Colonel-General V. Ivanov, Lieutenant-General M. Titov, and Hero of the Soviet Union, Colonel A. Rutskoy, and other representatives of the workers of the city of Moscow—laborers, members of the scientific and creative intelligentsia, and of komsomol and youth organizations participated in the discussion.

Guests from Leningrad, Sverdlovsk, the Ukraine, Belorussia, Estonia, Latvia, and the cities of Siberia were present at the conference.

A council of 75 individuals, including representatives of various organizations, creative workers, and scholars, was elected. A. Kuzmin was elected chairman of the society, A. Rutskoy deputy chairman, and S. Bogatov secretary.

The telephone number to call to make inquiries about the "Otechestvo" society in Moscow is 297-40-13.

**Young Writers' Conference 'Legalizes' Unofficial Participants**

*18001115c Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 24 May 89 Second Edition p 2*

[Article by N. Dobryukha: "An Increase in Optimism: To Complete the Work of the Ninth All-Union Conference of Young Writers"]

[Text] Full of hope, we open the latest issues of journals, the pages of newly published books and literary collections, since we know the importance of the influx of new creative strength into all areas of creativity, including literature, to our lives and to the great task of perestroika. Full of bitterness, we note that the number of new, sonorous names that have appeared before us is not that great. Can it be that our land is poor in talent? Is it possible that there is nothing to tell the new generation entering life in this stormy and unsettled time?

Indeed, the Ninth All-Union Conference of Young Writers, which has just completed its work in the capital, set itself as its main task—the search for young writers. The atmosphere that prevailed in the lecture hall, seminars, and discussions gave one the impression that the era of perestroika has left its mark on the generation of young writers. To me, a participant in the previous All-Union Conference, the changes were especially evident: there were no more pedestrian sermons from the podium by literary mentors; and much else had changed as well. The opening remarks by the first secretary of the board of the USSR Writers' Union V. Karpov caused all of us to anticipate, not speeches which existed only on paper, but instead heartfelt and very open discussion of the works of the young and of the problems that are most vital to them.

"This time a truly representative forum of young literature assembled in Moscow. The number of official participants alone exceeded 350." K. Vorobyev, a representative of the All-Union Lenin Communist Union of Youth, told me.

"I get the impression that the unofficial participants of the conference were 'legitimized' for the first time," said the famous poet, Vladimir Firs. "After all, what happened before? No matter how regrettable and paradoxical this may seem, most frequently, those who have made the best impression were, unfortunately, not those who were elected, so to speak, by official routes, but those who came drifting in on their own from all over our boundless mother Russia. In the past, in order to get into such conferences, they had to operate like intelligence agents talking their way into alien territory, sleeping at the stations or with the "hobos" in abandoned houses awaiting demolition, and eating wherever they could. This, of course, was a painful problem. And it is a good thing that it has finally been solved not just in

words, but in actuality. This precludes the possibility, for example, of someone forcing his way into literature, and getting published through connections or "pull," as occurred in the past. Of course, it is still too early to discuss the results of the Ninth All-Union Conference of Young Writers. There is still much for the young authors to do in order to become true prose writers, poets, and playwrights. But the road has opened up before them—and this is the main thing. They have been noticed. So that, as it is said, now all they have to do is to dare to grow creatively!

In a conversation with the deputy editor-in-chief of the publishing house "Soviet Writer," Mikhail Chislov, I was pleased to hear that, starting with this conference, works by those who triumph here, if I can express myself thus, will definitely and be published in collections in a short period of time, and the most interesting authors will be given a monetary loan by the Litfond of the USSR Writers' Union to allow them to publish their works rapidly at their own expense. This is, of course, extremely important, although it will not save us from all the problems associated with publishing house. Without doubt, a decisive step has been taken, affirming that progress is beginning to be made. After all, in the past, most often participants in the conference were satisfied if they were given formal support and acknowledgment of their virtues; and only long afterward did they manage to get themselves published by the country's publishing house waiting in line with everyone else..It would happen that they spent 10 or 15 years in line, and grew old, while still being considered promising young writers. We used to say: the young are always precious to us. And yet we waited until they got old. But literature is for the young—requiring enormous spiritual and physical efforts. Now many are beginning to occupy their rightful places. These are the first results." M. Chislov named the authors of the books which will see the light of day in the current or following year.. These will be authored by S. Khazanov, S. Alikhanov, D. Stonov, L. Vaneyeva, and others. The Litfond of the USSR Writers' Union has already given them monetary loans...

**Preservation of Northern Cultures Defended**  
18001056 Moscow *VOPROSY LITERATURY* in  
Russian No 3, Mar 89 pp 3-29

[Unsigned article: "Saving the Nationalities of the North, Preserving Their Culture: Dialogue Between V. Sangi and A. Dimitriyeva]

[Excerpts]

[A. Dimitriyeva] Vladimir Mikhaylovich, I think that you agree that the period after the 20th party congress, the period of the 1960's, was marked by a mighty upsurge in the literatures of the peoples of the Far North and the Far East. A large number of talented works were published, and we saw the appearance of names of writers who immediately attracted universal attention, not only as individual writers, but also in their aggregate

number they entered our awareness and the nationwide literary process as a **phenomenon**, and an extremely unusual phenomenon at that... However, later, it seems to me, their development slowly down noticeably, and the euphoria with respect to the appearance not only of new names, but also of new literatures (and every new name was announced also as the birth of a new literature—it was proudly mentioned in the reports given at every all-union congress of writers; in our country there had been 75 literatures, but now there were 76, 77, 78...). Yes, the euphoria somehow had dissipated imperceptibly. It had disappeared, and critical interest had dropped...

Is this so? If you agree with my observation, how do you explain this slump?

[V. Sangi] Yes, unfortunately it is the truth. And it is undoubtedly explained by the fates of those small nations themselves, which have currently proven to be in an extremely difficult—I might even say, catastrophic—situation. In essence, if the most urgent steps are not taken, they will perish within the lifetime of the current generation. And it is precisely this matter—the fate of the small nations of the Far North and the Far East—that we must speak here today. This is more important than literary questions. [passage omitted]

[V. Sangi] The Soviet state, even during the period of stagnation, was disturbed by the critical problems of the small northern nations. And so, to take the place of the Committee of the North, under VTsIK [All-Russian Central Executive Committee, which committee was executed by firing squad in the mid-1930's], the Department for Questions of Developing the Economy and Culture of the Nationalities of the North was created in the late 1960's at the Administration of Affairs, RSFSR Council of Ministers. That organization, under that high protection, could have done a lot, because it prepares governmental decrees and other documents that are subject to mandatory execution, and it is given the responsibility of monitoring the rate of fulfillment of those decrees—not by those issued by the RSFSR government, but also by USSR Council of Ministers and CPSU Central Committees—that pertain to the nationalities of the North.

I took part in the preparation of many documents linked with providing aid to the economy and culture of the northern nations, and I was convinced by my own eyes that they did not actually have as many real rights as it seemed—almost every undertaking encountered barriers erected by the administrative-bureaucratic system: the path traveled in dealing with the bureaucracy, as compared with the path traveled on Committee of the North business, was stupendous!

Yes, at that time I made frequent trips to various parts of the North and the Far East. As for the situation with the northerners' national languages, this is, unfortunately, the sad situation that developed: the approach taken

toward those languages was the same that was taken toward the kulak class—they had to be liquidated. Sometimes the situation went so far as real vandalism. It was as though everything was immediately forgotten—the friendship of nations, the principles of internationalism, and all the fruitful experience that had been accumulated. In the schools and boarding schools, children were no longer taught their native language. Many nationalities of the North were thrown back and proved once again to be, essentially speaking, without a written language. On someone's initiative, textbooks were burned...

Upon arriving in Khabarovsk Kray in the mid-1970's to collect facts and to prepare a memorandum concerning the introduction of the instruction of native languages, I had a meeting with Nanaytsy in the settlement of Naykin. It was a sad spectacle. The secondary school was in emergency condition. With a large amount of difficulty, they managed to find a 1953 Nanay textbook. It was a copy that had not been burned. The school director and the director of studies had hidden it on the top shelf of the school library. Kray ispolkom chairman G. Ye. Podgayev had been against the introduction of native languages: how would this look at the party's Central Committee?

I also visited Yamal, Kamchatka, and Chukotka. At that time I wrote memoranda for the record—dealing with Tyumen, Kamchatka, and Magadan oblasts, Sakhalin, and Khabarovsk Kray—concerning the need to introduce (or expand) the teaching of the native languages. But there was just one answer that came from the "outlying areas": the nation itself did not want to study its own language.

[A. Dmitriyeva] And that is exactly the same argument that is given today in Belorussia, the Ukraine, and other republics.

[V. Sangi] A vicious cycle was created. It was very rare for anything to object directly to the introduction of the native languages, but the final decision was invariably dumped on the higher administrative levels. And in the papers that arrived at RSFSR Council of Ministers it was stated that the draft of the decree had been attentively studied, but the Itelmeny, the Koryaki, and the Eveny objected to the introduction of the instruction in their native languages into the curricula...

We were flying to Koryak Autonomous Okrug. By that time I was already a rather well-known writer. The reindeer breeders and herdsmen wanted to meet me, because, after returning from the tundra after a long period of nomadic travels, they wanted to know what was going on in the world. At every meeting parents told me that they wanted their children to study their native language, but in the official replies received from the outlying areas it was stated in black and white that they were against that. Thus I became enriched with a knowledge of the bureaucrats' life. I. I. Chistyakov, chairman

of the Magadan Oblast Ispolkom, said that that instruction could be given, but only until the third grade—why complicate the curriculum? But F. I. Yevstratov, chairman of the Sakhalin Oblast Ispolkom, wrote that the oblast ispolkom considered it to be undesirable to teach the Nivkh language.

But at precisely the same time one could read the statement that had been made by then RSFSR Minister of Education A. I. Danilov in Canada, where he asserted that the problems of developing the languages of small nations had been resolved in our country in the best manner, in accordance with the Constitution. But in a conversation with me, he said firmly and with conviction, "Comrade Sangi! I will not introduce languages. But issue a Council of Ministers decree, and as a minister I will execute it!"

There were, of course, in the ministry apparatus, people who supported our recommendations, but the draft of the governmental decree took a tortuously long line to move through the administrative levels... But finally it was enacted! That was a tremendous victory—1 April 1977. But how much time was lost! And how much remained (and still remains) to be done! Because the decree is supposed to be **actually** fulfilled! And today's 20-year-old and 30-year-old Nivkhi, Selkupy, Itelmeny, Saami, Ulchi, and Udege (and their children) do not know their native language; they attended school when the native language was not taught there.

[A. Dmitriyeva] And, of course, much has to be created anew. As is obvious from our press, the northern writers are taking active part in this work.

[V. Sangi] Yes, they currently feel a sense of tremendous responsibility for developing the national cultures and languages. In the 1930's, when a writing system was being created for a number of languages and textbooks were being approved, the peoples of the Far North and the Far East lived a comparatively isolated life, and many of the concepts that are needed today simply did not exist in their languages. Also, the person who, for the most part, engaged in preparing the textbooks were scientists—linguists and ethnographers—who were not speakers of the languages and who reflected only the past state of those languages. Currently it is necessary to engage in developing new lexical items, in developing new forms and laws for word formation and style. And the people who can do this best are the writers.

Let us take a very simple example that is of elementary necessity in teaching a language: the teacher asks, and the study answers. But the Nivkhi used to have the word "asks," but did not have the word "question"; they had the [verb] "answers," but did not have the [noun] "answer." So it was necessary to create these and other words in the native language. That also occurred when developing the translations of Pushkin, Tolstoy, and Shevchenko, in which I participated. It was necessary to do a very large amount of work in this area. But I don't

think that I ever feel such exultation at my own successes in my own creative work as when I found a felicitous resolution for the Nivkh language, which was immediately incorporated in the textbooks and readers for grades 1, 2, 3, etc.

Many of our writers participate in the work of creating and improving the literary languages: the Even Andrey Krivoshapkin, the Chukhotka poetess Antonina Kymyval, the Nanay writer Andrey Passar, Dolganka Ogdo Aksanova, the young writer Valentina Kyalundzuga, who wrote "Trip to the Alphabet" in Udege...

But simultaneously there has been a struggle that unites all of us writers of the North—the struggle for the resolution of the ecological problems, the fight against the thoughtlessness of technocratic civilization that defends departmental interests to the detriment of the state's strategic interests and that is ready to destroy everything in its path, without even noticing the existence of nationalities that have been living since time immemorial on that land and whose entire life is inseparably linked with nature and its cycles...

[A. Dmitriyeva] We have now reached the discussion of the third cause of the retardation in the developing of the national cultures and young literatures of the northerners.

[V. Sangi] The third and the most frightening one. And the threat here is not only to the national cultures, but to the very existence of these peoples. Today the countless armadas of oil derricks and the incalculable number of gas-derrick fires that have been spewing dirt into the atmosphere with a high-pressure roar for decades salute the triumph of the industrial, technocratic use of the ancient lands of probably the most ancient peoples of Siberia—the Nivkhi, Nentsy, Khanty, Mansi...

According to data provided by the Department of Toxicology, SibNIIRKH, in 1982 samples of the mud at the bottom of the wintering holes of valuable species of fish in Obskaya Guba contained as many as 10 heavy petroleum fractions per hundred weight units of the mud—that figure substantiates the catastrophic state of the region's fish reserves and attests to the sad prospects of the traditional livelihood of the Khanty, Mansi, and Nentsy.

According to data provided by RSFSR Gosagroprom, the industrial assimilation of the areas where the nationalities of the North reside has taken out of use 20 million hectares of reindeer pastures, and this represents 100,000 reindeer.

Today the industrial felling of the Udege cedar taiga is being carried out on a tremendous scale. The Amur drainage area has been brought to such a state that the Nanaytsy and the Ulchi no longer see many of the species of fish that used to be part of their daily menu.

The land where the Evenki live, where the Turukhanskaya GES is being planned, is under threat of inundation... One could multiply instances like this to infinity...

[A. Dmitriyeva] But these people continue to be very closely linked with the traditional trades, and in general with the traditional way of life, and it is extremely difficult for them to adapt to the new conditions.

[V. Sangi] Nevertheless, whereas, in 1959, 70 percent of all persons in the nationalities of the North who were engaged in labor worked in the traditional branches, in 1979 that figure was only 43 percent (and today, of course, it is even smaller). Where did the other people go? Some of them became the intelligentsia. Some (very few) grasped onto new types of production. But the bulk of the population that had been shifted from the traditional branches supplemented the ranks of the people engaged in unskilled physical labor (from 13 to 30 [percent])—unskilled workers, loaders, trash collectors, stokers, etc. And it must be kept in mind that this kind of employment rate is, if anything, conventional and not year-round, with two or three persons frequently working in the same job.

I definitely am not idealizing our patriarchal way of life or its ability to resist negative phenomena: this is a category of people that is new for the nationalities of the North and it has become a basic center of manifestations of social woes—alienation, vagrancy, drunkenness, aggressiveness, and a very high mortality rate.

Another source of social woes is the consolidated settlements, rayon centers, industrial cities, and ports, where, by deception and force, Eskimos, Nivkhi, Selkup, and Saami were settled in the 1960's and where, subsequently, they were crowded out of the traditional types of economic activity. Here it is necessary to add to the previously mentioned woes unemployment, gambling, prostitution, and narcotics and substance addiction.

[A. Dmitriyeva] That happened as early as the 1960's! How many years have passed, and how many victorious reports we have heard and read about the northerners' new life! People spoke exclusively of the successes that had been achieved!

[V. Sangi] In very oblast, kray, and autonomous republic in the North there is, as a rule, one "Potemkin village." On Sakhalin it is the center of the Krasnaya Zarya Fishing Kolkhoz, the settlement of Nekrasovka that was erected in execution of the good, well thought-out 1957 decree of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers, entitled "Measures for the Further Development of the Economy and Culture of the Nationalities of the North." The settlement was built in a place that was easily accessible by car. But that settlement, which is usually shown to Soviet writers and to foreign guests, was doomed at birth to insurmountable social woes. The fact of the matter is that it is 100-300 kilometers away from the basic fishing areas, and the

settlement itself, where 1200 people live today, does not have a single production entity. And a completely inconceivable situation has been in existence there for decades. Every year a number of the residents of that settlement travel to the coast to catch fish. And to process the fish that has been caught by these residents of Nekrasovka, seasonal workers are annually brought in from as far away as tens of kilometers—from the Ukraine and other western oblasts—at a time when the residents of Nekrasovka itself are greatly in need of earnings.

This settlement is doomed to chronic unemployment with all its attendant moral consequences.

In execution of the assignments in the 1957 decree, the ancient Nivkh villages of Piltun, Chayvo, and Veni were rebuilt on Sakhalin in the late 1950's. However, in the 1960's, during the days of the infamous P. A. Leonov, who headed the Sakhalin Oblast party organization for 18 long years, in accordance with a decision of the party's obkom these commercially very promising villages were closed by personal fiat, and their population was carted away—with the use of armed militia—to the rayon center of Nogliki, that is 20-150 kilometers from where the population used to be involved in economic activity, and that today has become a city of the petroleum department and other union departments.

And this is the consequence: whereas in the early 1960's in Noglikskiy Rayon practically every male or female Nivkh had the opportunity to be employed in the most prestigious and best-paying type of their traditional production activity—namely, catching fish—during the subsequent years, in what is formally supposed to be the consolidated kolkhoz that is situated in Nogliki, the Nivkhi have been consistently crowded out of the fishing. Just as they have been crowded out of commercial hunting.

The number of reindeer on Sakhalin during the past ten years has dropped from 15,000 head to 3000, and the areas of the reindeer pastures have been reduced by half, with a corresponding reduction in the number of people employed in reindeer breeding. And the reason for the reduction in the number of reindeer lies not only in the fact that the petroleum and gas producers have destroyed the fields of reindeer moss, but also in the fact that, on the initiative of our comrades—the oblast administrators—the reindeer were put out to what is called free pasturing in the taiga, where the comrades who belong to the "powers that be" organized a real hunt against them...

In the industrial Nizhnevartovskiy Rayon that is famous throughout the world, in 1983-1984 the average earnings among the national population came to 26 rubles a month!

In the early 1960's, prior to the beginning of the petroleum and gas drilling, the population of Khanty-Mansi Okrug was approximately 100,000 persons. At that time the members of the indigenous population (the Khanty and the Mansi) numbered 20,000, that is, they constituted 20 percent of the population. As of 1 January 1988 the population of that okrug had surpassed 1.2 million persons, but the indigenous population had dropped to 18,000, constituting less than 1.5 percent, with a simultaneous increase in the number of unemployed—their place has been taken by temporary workers who have been brought in (at great expense).

The social consequences of this kind of treatment of the nationalities of the North are the most tragic: whereas in the 1950's their average life expectancy exceeded 60 years, in the 1980's it fell by 20 years and became the same as that of the most socially deprived Indians in the United States. [passage omitted]

[A. Dmitriyeva] Here is testimony provided by Yuriy Rytkheu: "The intensive industrial assimilation of the North has created rather complicated conditions for the life and development of small nationalities. The indigenous population of the taiga and tundra, even in their autonomous formations, has proven to be in the position of national minorities... the new industrial enterprises, mines, and oil and gas fields frequently are situated on the traditional places where people used to engage in hunting and to pasture reindeer. At first the ministries and departments made loud statements about the need to waive the allegedly narrowly local interests in the name of nationwide ones. In the name of this, for example, during the 12 years of operation of a gold-mining dredge in Chaunskiy Rayon, Chukotka Autonomous Okrug, the Ichuveem River, which at one time was a mighty river teeming with fish, has simply disappeared. The same fate has overtaken dozens of rivers and lakes on the tundra edge of the Arctic Circle.

"Together with the geologists and petroleum workers who are not squeamish not only about engaging in poaching, but also about shooting domesticated reindeer, one sees representatives of the hunting and fishing inspectorate who dictate rules that they have made far away in their offices to guide the hunting and fishing trade carried out by the local residents. As a result, the local resident is frequently given a large fine only for having taken advantage of his ancient right to catch wild animals or catch fish.

"All this, together with the experiments of recent years, such as the declaring of remote villages and nomad camps are being unpromising, and various kinds of bureaucratic leap-frog, have noticeably undermined in the inhabitants of the North the faith in the creative force of the friendship of the peoples of our country" (PRAVDA, 31 December 1988).

Recently (finally!) our public opinion has begun to speak louder and louder about the tragic situation in which the peoples of the North have found themselves. Numerous facts that are difficult to fit into any rational concepts are cited. So, involuntarily, the impression is created that even the decrees of the party's Central Committee and the Council of Ministers concerning aid to these peoples were deliberately fulfilled with such bungling, or bad faith, or indifference that the situation has not improved, but has worsened. It is as though we are attending the theater of the absurd. [passage omitted]

[V. Sangi] That began long ago. And it kept developing. As long ago as the years of collectivization, someone got the idea of listing as kulaks people who had almost no property of their own. Later on, for example on Sakhalin, the decision was made to convert the Nivkhi to agriculture. But the widely advertised first Nivkh agricultural kolkhoz ceased to exist in the 1960's: over a period of 30-40 years no one could make farmers out of the Nivkhi, but they had ceased to be fishers, hunters, and animal trappers. [passage omitted]

[A. Dmitriyeva] But what do the scientists—the sociologists, economists, psychologists, physiologists, ethnographers—think? What has the response of the numerous NII [scientific-research institutes] been to this set of problems?

[V. Sangi] Unfortunately, until recently these topics have not been present in their scientific plans. But a few years ago I officially reviewed a doctoral dissertation by sociologist V. I. Boyko—who currently is a corresponding member of USSR Academy of Sciences and chairman of an interdepartmental commission of the Siberian Branch of USSR Academy of Sciences, USSR AMN [Academy of Medical Sciences], and VASKhNIL [All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences imeni V. I. Lenin] on the problems of the nationalities of the North.

It may happen that this concept of the Novosibirsk sociologists will triumph (previously this concept was supported by the Americans, but they have rejected it in favor of a more democratic resolution). Its essence, schematically speaking, lies in the following: it is easy and simple to decide the question of the nationalities of the North—all one has to do is to eliminate the focal points and the ground for uniquely national development, that is, the national villages with their traditional types of economic activity, national language, and culture. It is necessary to bring those nationalities into the "large industrial world," into the Russian industrial cities that are arising in the North and in the Far East, where, according to V. Boyko, a bright future awaits the northerners. This concept, as we can see, is projected onto an ideology of the superiority of one people over others and assumes that it is completely lawful for the way of life of one people to become the norm for others. The previously planned assimilation, the complete dissolution of the small peoples, is, of course, an unacceptable decision.

[A. Dmitriyeva] Where, then, is the way out? What must be done? What steps must be taken immediately to save these nationalities from destruction?

[V. Sangi] V. Sondykov, chairman of the Nizhnevartovskiy Rayon Ispolkom, says, "About 15-20 years ago, it was much simpler to find intelligent compromises between the interests of the indigenous... population and industrial oil and gas production, and to introduce a definite harmony and economic desirability into those relations... At the present time it is much more complicated to do this, because, first, time has been lost, and, second, to a considerable extent the region's food-producing, timber, fishing, and fur wealth has been undermined."

The writer Yeremey Aypin is firmly convinced that "The future of my people depends directly on the preservation of the basic traditional trades. And this is linked with the preservation of the land, the areas that are used for fishing, hunting, and reindeer. These lands must be permanently given over to the indigenous national population. What these lands are called—a reserve or a national park—is unimportant. The main thing is for industrial assimilation to bypass them. And for this to depend not upon the bad will or the good will of a specific administrator or economic manager, but to be established legislatively..."

"In addition, it is necessary to limit, within these reserve territories, the access to any outsiders who are not linked directly with the trades, because at the present time the national settlements are literally seething with people who are buying up furs, speculators, poachers, as well as people who are simply criminals. It is necessary to create in these territories a large number of small settlements provided with all the social and cultural support. [passage omitted]" (SOVETSKAYA KULTURA, 26 July 1988).

[A. Dmitriyeva] But, practically speaking, from the purely organizational point of view, what should be done?

[V. Sangi] These questions were discussed by the writing public, including a discussion at the secretariat of the board of governors of RSFSR SP [Writers Union], and at the most recent plenum of the board of governors of USSR SP.

1. It is necessary to create an Association of Nationalities of the North. Its task is to accumulate ideas concerning the resolution of the questions of their national and social construction, to defend their interests, and to provide scientifically substantiated recommendations with regard to questions of assimilating the North and the ecology of its flora and fauna and its indigenous population;

2. To create an authoritative Committee of the North, that possesses real power;

3. To create autonomous formations for the Nanaytsy, Saami, Nivkhi, Selkupy, Eveny, Udege, Itelmeny, Eastern Evenki, Yukagiry, and other nationalities, with their representation in the highest agencies of authority;
4. To define legislatively an effective policy that guarantees long-term compensation on the part of the ministries, departments, and other agencies having interests in rayons of the Far North, Siberia, and the Far East, for the use of natural resources and for any damage caused to the peoples and natural resources of those regions; and to channel those funds, at the discretion of the indigenous population, primarily into the construction of national villages and structures to meet the social, cultural, and everyday needs and the needs of production, with a consideration of the economic, cultural, everyday, and other peculiarities of the nationalities of the North, and also into the taking of steps to protect the environment;
5. When resolving questions of broad-scale and local construction, the exploitation of the mineral resources, forests, and other natural wealth, as well as the protection of the environment, the decisive word must be legislatively assigned to the indigenous population;
6. To create extensive cultural and biosphere reserve territories where the nationalities of the North can live and engage in their economic activity; to guarantee juridically to the nationalities of the North the priority of their traditional use of the environment; to authorize them to engage, without licenses and in order to meet their personal needs, in the catching of wild animals, fish, sea animals, and birds. [passage omitted]

[A. Dmitriyeva] [passage omitted] In the novel "Lozhnyy gon" [False Chase], which appeared as long ago as 1965, you raised the acute problem of the false paths of social development, the dependent's psychology, and social deformations. And I recall that that novel was met favorably by the critics.

[V. Sangi] Yes, in Moscow. But on Sakhalin I was given a cruel working-over for having written that novel. For about ten years—up until I moved to Moscow—I used to be considered a nationalist, no one published my works, and two attempts were made to expel me from the party...

Nevertheless, on the whole, we northern writers, unfortunately, failed to see the danger promptly or, proceeding from our own life experience and political philosophy, and from the life philosophy of our peoples, to extract the invaluable experience that had been accumulated by them under the most cruel conditions of their existence, or to say a decisive "no!" to the aggressively advancing barbarism.

Currently the northern writers are speaking out very actively as writers on public affairs. They have already accumulated a large amount of political and civic experience. I believe in the future of the literatures of our small peoples. The task of literature is not to repeat what we used to have, but to reach a new level in development. The set of present-day problems of life, with their acuteness and conflict situations, plus the ecological experience that has been accumulated by the northerners over the millenia, and the invaluable treasure houses of folk creativity—we must make all of this the property of mankind...

The path to this universally human condition, I am convinced, runs by way of the national. The authority possessed by the northern peoples has morality, rather than strength, and this, under the present-day conditions of life on earth, perhaps, is the most essential, the most vitally important truth.

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**Burlatskiy Commission Seeks To Influence Human Rights Laws**  
*18120096 Moscow NEW TIMES in English*  
*No 18, 2-8 May 89 p 29*

[Text] The public commission for international cooperation on humanitarian issues and human rights under the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation (the Burlatskiy Commission, for short) is a year and a half old. Over this period it has established contacts with 30 international and national human rights organizations and played host to 15 foreign delegations in Moscow (including the delegations from the U.S. Congress, British Parliament, the European Parliament, and the Socialist International). The commission has scored impressive success in the international arena. And what about the situation on the home front? How to make the commission's activity more efficacious? How to make it of greater immediate benefit to society? These were the questions the NEW TIMES get-together concentrated on.

The protection of human rights begins with the adoption of good laws. The commission deems it its duty to take a hand in lawmaking, which presupposes seeing all bills before they are passed. The Supreme Soviet has promised to show the commission the bills submitted to it, but it will clearly be some time before consulting the public becomes regular practice here.

The commission seeks to exercise a greater effect on national legislation using the mass media and public forums for the purpose. The five commission members elected People's Deputies of the U.S.S.R. (Ales Adamovich, Fyodor Burlatskiy, Daniil Granin, Djanguir Kerimov, Yuri Chernichenko) can do this using their right to interpellation and to legislative initiative. Although the lawyer members of the commission do review from time to time, in line of duty, regulations drafted by the Ministry of Justice, even they often have a fragmentary notion of legislative bills. Yelena Lukasheva, LL.D., stressed that the Ministry of Justice drafted a package of bills which are totally unknown to the scientific public. Is this a relapse into anonymous backstage lawmaking? The bills which do come the legal experts' way neither measure up to international standards, nor meet our international commitments.

Yuri Kashlev, the noted Soviet diplomat, stressed the need for bringing national legislation into conformity with international agreements signed by the U.S.S.R. At its London session, the international Information Forum is discussing the fulfilment by various countries of the Vienna agreements on guaranteeing a free information flow. Our country, Yuri Kashlev says, may be accused of violating these agreements by forbidding cooperatives to make and distribute audio-visual programmes and to engage in publishing activities, and also by attempting to introduce special passes for journalists.

Metropolitan Yuvenaly of Krutitsy and Kolomna voiced his concern over procrastinations in drafting the freedom of conscience bill promised a year ago.

Mikhail Krutogolov, LL.D., spoke about the need to draw up, within the next few years, of a new Constitution of the U.S.S.R. to be preambled by the Declaration of the Soviet Citizen's Rights.

Another important function of the commission is acting upon the letters and complaints coming in from the public. Initially, this work did not enter into its plans. Complaints were presumably to be looked into by a special human rights committee and by the appropriate commissions of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet, of the Republics' Supreme and local Soviets. However, none of these bodies has been as much as formed so far, and so all the complaints are pouring down on the Burlatskiy Commission. In 1988, it received 8,887 letters, most of them concerning labour-management conflicts and housing problems. The rest of the letters came from "otkazniki," those who had been refused exit visas, from Crimean Tartars and from those confined to mental hospitals "for reasons other than health." A few letters came from those calling themselves political prisoners, from believers (who want more temples) and from conscientious objectors sentenced to prison terms.

The commission succeeded in enlisting the services of three voluntary helpers in sorting out the complaints and acting upon them. This work is already bringing some results, Fyodor Burlatskiy said. Over the past few months alone, the commission had exit visas issued to nine "otkazniki."

The session participants decided that the commission had to establish a human rights foundation of its own in order to strengthen its positions and broaden the scale of its human rights campaigning inside the country. The foundation is to invite free-will contributions from organizations and private individuals.

The commission unanimously adopted a statement in connection with the Decree of the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet of April 8, 1989, "On Amending and Enlarging the Law of the U.S.S.R. On Criminal Liability for Offences Against the State." The Decree has actually withdrawn from Soviet criminal legislature a number of corpora delicti provided for by Article 70 and Article 190 (1) of the Russian Federation's Criminal Code which gave wide scope for framing-up dissidents.

However, the statement says, the commission members "are seriously concerned over the wording of Article 11 (1) under which it is a criminal offence to insult or discredit supreme state and government authorities, as well as certain office holders of public organizations and their agencies. There is a real danger of this wording of Article 11 (1) being used as grounds for taking to court

those criticizing concrete unlawful actions committed by office holders." The commission is of the opinion that the Article should be radically revised or revoked altogether.

Besides, the commission members maintain that in the first part of Article 7 ("Public calls for the overthrow of the Soviet state and social system") the word "overthrow" ought to be preceded by "forced," and that in part 3 of this Article ("Actions...carried out on the instructions of foreign organizations") "foreign organizations" ought to be changed for "foreign secret services." It is further suggested that the concluding part of the phrase pertaining to actions committed using material values or technical facilities received from foreign organizations ought to be dropped.

**First Deputy Chairman of Pioneers on Organization's Tasks, Problems**  
18001076 Moscow UCHITELSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 18 May 89 p 1

[Interview with L. Timofeyeva, first deputy chairman, Pioneer Central Council, by S. Tsymbalenko, correspondent, and others: "Let's Select Our Battle! A Timely Interview"]

[Text] It used to be that 19 May, the birthday of the Pioneer organization was memorialized by reports, festivities, and parades. But nowadays the Pioneers are not inclined to have parades. There is too much dissatisfaction among the kids and their older friends. There is too much that has to be changed. And so our conversation with L. Timofeyeva, first deputy chairman of the Pioneer Central Council, did not turn out to be so festive. At the request of the editors, this interview was prepared by the journalist S. Tsymbalenko, together with kids from various cities in this country; they also took part in the meeting.

[Correspondent] Lidiya Nikolayevna, these days there are quite a few people who are not only dissatisfied with the Pioneer organization but who also doubt the necessity of involving children in politics. There are instances of kids leaving the organization. And if you were beginning all over again, would you become a Pioneer today?

[L. Timofeyevna] Of course. There are such changes taking place all around us, and should I remain on the sidelines? The opportunity to influence the surrounding reality is the main thing which this organization provides. Also the comradeship—because, after all, virtually nothing serious can be accomplished in isolation! According to our polls, more than 90 percent of the kids from 9 to 14 years of age think this way.

[Correspondent] But this is an ideal model. In reality, the kids, scarcely having become Pioneers, quite rapidly encounter the lack of activity in their own ranks, boredom, and formalism. Even in the Pioneer life it is the schoolteacher who gives the commands. Only one thing really matters and is encouraged—the ability to listen and obey.

[L. Timofeyeva] Not everywhere but often. We are reaping the fruits of the administrative system, for which it was important that the children thought not about transforming our society but about study and discipline. For this purpose, the organization was merged with public education, the Pioneer detachment with the class, and the activity of the Pioneers was limited primarily by the framework of the school. Is it really easy to become a militantly active, solid collective if you are not united by a common idea, comradeship, and a cause? If you have been assembled in accordance with a pro forma, age principle?

[Correspondent] But just what is to be done?

[L. Timofeyeva] These days the young person's interests must rank first. The organization is obligated to help him to develop himself, to fulfill himself as an individual personality in an activity which attracts him. Here now is Daniil Mishin; I remember him from as far back as the Ninth Pioneer Rally. He has written at least a hundred songs. Isn't this really important not only for his comrades but also for people in general? But in his ordinary school Pioneer detachment all that is required of him are his studies, attendance in classes, and several kilograms of spoiled paper. He found himself in a literary association attached to the Leningrad Pioneer newspaper entitled LENINSKIYE ISKRY. Kids from Alma-Ata and Sverdlovsk were able to fulfill their potentials in Pioneer cooperatives. And others want to engage in sports, in historical research, or creative technical work. Why shouldn't they join together in detachments keyed to an activity which is interesting and important for kids? Having studied and learned something, they will use it for the benefit of others so that life around them will be changed for the better. And it's not important where such detachments are formed—in the school or the House of Pioneers, in the courtyard or at a plant, at a library of a scientific-research institute. What is important is that a person joining the Pioneers can select a detachment for himself, one which suits him. To be sure, this is still an organization for the very-near future. For such detachments we need well-trained leaders, rooms, areas, and funds, things which the organization does not have today. It lacks genuine independence and is compelled to constantly direct requests to the Komsomol, public education, and the trade unions. All this is not just petty trifles; all this is important for renovating the Pioneer organization. The plan for this has been prepared with the participation of the kids themselves, as well as their leaders. It is now under examination in the CPSU Central Committee.

[Correspondent] But what if the Pioneers already want changes now, without waiting for decisions "from above"?

[L. Timofeyeva] Well, then, they must act. Nadezhda Konstantinovna Krupskaya used to say that the Pioneer organization was a movement growing from the bottom up. Social creativity. Is it really possible to create things by orders?

Instructions cannot be furnished for all instances in life. To be sure, it's not the children who suffer from this—they don't need any paper documents—but the adults to whom the Pioneers turn for help. So, if they is such a great need for permission, the party has given it. Let's recall the words spoken by M.S. Gorbachev when he greeted the Ninth All-Union Pioneer Rally: Be more bold in undertaking that which nobody has yet attempted. The right to experiment was confirmed at the end of the rally by decisions of the Komsomol Central Committee Bureau and the VPO [All-Union Pioneer Organization] Central Council. What more do you need?

[Sasha Kalabin, eighth-grader from Tomsk] Lidiya Nikolayevna, how do you regard the idea of the Pioneers themselves elected the chairman of the VPO Central Council?

[L. Timofeyeva] Why not? In our draft plan for restructuring we propose such a variant. Although such a practice has never existed in such an organization as ours either in our country or abroad. As a rule, chairmen are elected at conferences attended only by adults. But your organization is a children's organization! After the Pioneers in Pyatigorsk, without asking permission, by the way, elected their own city-level council, to be headed by senior-class member Zhenya Kuzin, this spread throughout the entire country. And in the city of Brovara, Kiev Oblast, the seventh-grader Dima Levon was elected chairman. Moreover, one of his opponents was the secretary of the Komsomol gorkom. Of course, innovations have not always been approved, nor will they be approved easily. But we must struggle for our own rights to independence and to search!

[Daniil Mishin, eighth-grader, Leningrad] How much can we struggle? At first we struggled against the class enemy, then against the people's enemy. Now we are struggling against difficulties ranging from soap to bureaucracy. Who should the Pioneers struggle against? Against their own Pioneer organization, the Soviet organs, or the Komsomol? Perhaps it's high time that we saw to it that we no longer have to struggle for our own rights, but that they just exist. What do you think?

[L. Timofeyeva] It seems to me that struggle is a constant means of moving forward; it's a norm of life. It's another matter to reinforce gains which have already been achieved. Is that what you had in mind? Immediately after the Ninth Rally of the Komsomol Central Committee and the VPO Central Council the right to organize detachments and volunteer guards was reinforced not only in the classroom and the school, but also to conduct elections to them for any terms. And not only once a year. Together with USSR Gosbank, we decided to open their own accounts for Pioneer guards and councils of Pioneer organizations so that the kids themselves could independently deposit and withdraw money which they have earned. These rights exist, and they must be extended further. We need a status for the Pioneer organization which will be established in the USSR

Constitution, in the Code, and in the charter of the organization itself. What kind of independence can we speak about if the Pioneer organization remains partially installed within the system of public education and partially within the structure of the Komsomol? It has nothing of its own: neither staffs, nor funds, nor a base. We hope that the constitutional-legal status of the organization and the appropriate guarantees will be recognized at the state level. And we will also struggle for this.

[Correspondent] I would still like to support Daniil's point. Yes, there are many complex problems these days; there is a long line of them waiting to be solved. But why is it that the children have been last in this line up to the present time? How many Pioneers has the Pioneer organization lost while waiting for their problems to be examined? Won't the documents get old and lose their validity while waiting to be approved in the complex hierarchy of instances?

[L. Timofeyeva] There is such a danger. Social processes are now happening so rapidly that we need to have just as effective reaction in the Pioneer organization as we do in the party or in the Komsomol. Moreover, we must support those who have run on ahead, where new things are ripening earlier. After the rally the leaders of various-age associations decisively demanded that we grant rights for these guards which would be equal to those of the school units. We required two months in order to adopt a decision to support them. However, the right of the Pioneers to themselves elect their own rayon and city councils, as happened last year in Pyatigorsk, was supported literally right away by the Joint Plenum of the Komsomol Central Committee and the VPO Central Council. But the central organs will still not be able to keep up with everything which is taking place in the country. We need boldness, the ability to take responsibility on ourselves in the pioneer detachments and guards themselves, and in the councils of the Pioneer organizations, as well as in the local party, Soviet, and Komsomol organs.

[Aleksey Khudyakov, sixth-grader, Alma-Ata] I still don't believe that the present-day Pioneer organization is capable of changing anything. As soon as some "wise" uncle or aunt says to a Pioneer "Hush, you're still too small," and you won't "herd" this organization anywhere voluntarily. There are third-graders who still don't comprehend anything. A Pioneer nowadays is a lamb which is beaten painfully until he becomes obedient. I'm for a children's front which would be opposed to the present-day Pioneer's organization and which could stand up for children's rights.

[L. Timofeyeva] In some things I agree with you, such as in the fact that we don't need to pull children into the Pioneers by force. Though a mass organization, it is not something that the children join just to be counted head by head; but it must be accessible to everybody. For those who share its ideas and principles, who do not want to be obedient "lambs." There's nothing terrible if

someone grows tired of the struggle and the difficulties and has decided to honorably withdraw from it. Nowadays the entire Pioneer organization and everyone in it is recognizing anew, as it were, his own place and role in what is happening around him. And so, as soon as the question of equal rights for the membership of adults in the Pioneer organization is settled, I will be one of the first to request that I be accepted as a Pioneer. I still choose to struggle!

### **Poll Shows Environment, Consumer Shortages Major Concerns**

18300633 Moscow *PRAVITELSTVENNYY VESTNIK*  
in Russian No 8, Apr 89 pp 9-10

[Article by A. Tolstykh, candidate of psychological sciences, and G. Sogomonov, candidate of historical sciences, research scientists at the All-Union Center for Public Opinion Studies: "Problems, Problems: What the Poll Showed"]

[Text] The changing society is trying to assess the true extent of its own pressing problems. This is what the press, radio and television talk about and people think of.

The general poll conducted by the All Union Center for Public Opinion Studies (VTsIOM) of the All-Union Central Trade Union Council and the USSR State Labor Committee revealed a broad range of opinions on society's painful socioeconomic problems. People were asked to name the most pressing issue, the No.1 problem on their minds. They shared their ideas on ways to overcome other serious problems.

The poll was conducted in 66 urban and 34 rural centers in 7 regions: Eastern and Western Siberia, the Northwest, Moscow, Kazakhstan, the Urals and the North Caucasus. It included 2,000 respondents.

Let us start with a point which is, while probably not the most important one, quite significant nonetheless: only a very small percentage of respondents had difficulty answering the questions. This shows that social problems are an important part of social consciousness.

#### **On the Most Pressing Issues**

Our first task was to find out how pressing a number of our society's problems are in people's minds. The poll's participants were asked to confirm or deny that a given social problem is a pressing one for the respondents themselves and for their families. Every respondent could list as pressing all of the problems on the list and even write in additional ones. (This is why the sum total of responses exceeds 100.)

The following results were obtained:

1. Poor supply and quality of manufactured goods—55 percent;

2. Shortages and poor quality of food products—51 percent;
3. Widespread use of connections and unjust distribution of goods and services—49 percent;
4. Low income and high prices—47 percent;
5. Pollution—47 percent;
6. Housing—35 percent;
7. Poor health care—31 percent;
8. Dependence on bureaucrats for solution of everyday problems—27 percent;
9. Low level of education and concern for young people—24 percent;
10. Inadequate care for the elderly—23 percent.

The placement of consumer goods shortages at the top of the list was probably due to the actual situation in December 1988, when contrary to expectations and usual practice shelves turned out empty at the end of the year, the quarter and the month. Interestingly, in addition to consumer goods, every other respondent listed difficulties with obtaining food products and complained about injustices in goods and services distribution. Apparently, in people's minds these three problems are tied into a single knot of everyday needs.

#### **Housing Is Most Important**

The picture changed dramatically when we asked the respondents to identify from the same list of problems one which is most pressing for them personally (which we code-named the "No.1 Problem"). For most respondents it was housing, which jumped from the No.6 position on the list to No.1.

The following order was obtained as a result:

1. Housing—17 percent;
2. Low income and high prices—16 percent;
3. Pollution—14 percent;
4. Widespread use of connections and unjust distribution of goods and services—12 percent;
5. Shortages and poor quality of food products—11 percent;
6. Poor supply and quality of manufactured goods—8 percent;
7. Dependence on bureaucrats for solution to everyday problems—7 percent;

8. Poor health care—4 percent;
9. Inadequate care for the elderly—3 percent;
10. Low level of education and concern for young people—3 percent.

In addition, 4 percent could not answer the question and 1 percent listed other problems as most pressing.

#### Where to Start?

After processing responses to the question which of the above-mentioned problems have priority, we unexpectedly found environment to be the leader. Respondents were asked to name problems which in their opinion had to be solved urgently and ones which could wait. The resultant list of society's priorities is as follows (each respondent could list more than one problem, and consequently the sum total of responses is greater than 100):

1. Pollution—87 percent;
2. Shortages and poor quality of food products—82 percent;
3. Housing—79 percent;
4. Poor supply and quality of manufactured goods—74 percent;
5. Widespread use of connections and unjust distribution of goods and services—73 percent;
6. Low income and high prices—67 percent;
7. Low level of education and concern for young people—63 percent;
8. Poor health care—63 percent;
9. Inadequate care for the elderly—61 percent;
10. Dependence on bureaucrats for solution to everyday problems—56 percent.

The importance of the environmental pollution problem, which captured first place, can probably be explained by the fact that the issue of environmental protection has been given so much play in the press and on television, not to mention the steadily growing environmental protection movement all over the country.

On the whole, while assessing responses on priorities for different socioeconomic problems we should not forget that those views are usually a mixture of problems people currently face and their life experience (and that of their immediate circle), as well as the impact of the

mass media, of course. It is therefore natural that desire to see changes in society primarily covers everyday problems which people encounter almost daily in one form or another.

#### Six Plus Four

An interesting trend emerges when respondents' answers are compared. The problems offered to respondents for evaluation were time and again split into two groups based on the frequency they were mentioned. The first group consisted of problems that were invariably found at the top of the list: poor supply and quality of manufactured goods, shortages and poor quality of food products, housing, low income and high prices, pollution and widespread use of connections and unjust distribution of goods and services.

The other group was comprised of those problems that wound up at the bottom of the list: dependence on bureaucrats in everyday life, low level of education and concern for young people, poor health care and inadequate care for the elderly.

It is interesting that the former group invariably included problems focusing on the near term, whereas the latter consisted of those which people thought were more long term-oriented. Plainly speaking, people were more concerned with finding solution to today's problems: where to live, what to eat and what to wear.

#### Some "Sore Points"

Let us now take a look at what people thought were crisis points in society's socioeconomic problems. We will use as an example the three most frequently mentioned problems: housing, environment and food.

In housing, the greatest concerns were waiting lists for housing that stretch for many years (70 percent of respondents), unjust distribution of apartments (43 percent) and low quality of construction (37 percent).

The crisis points of the pollution problem were, first of all, air pollution in cities (69 percent), followed by contamination of rivers, lakes and seas (54 percent) and increased levels of radioactivity in some population centers (42 percent).

The main components of the food problem were lack of food products (52 percent), high prices of cooperative products (40 percent) and widespread use of connections, cheating and black market practices in retail and public catering (33 percent).

#### To the Farthest Frontiers

Assessments of socioeconomic problems were different in different regions.

For instance, in most regions people had a rather similar view of the living standard problem (low income and high prices), the average difference being 1.5 percentage points. Regional differences became much more pronounced when the issue of shortages and poor quality of food products was mentioned. In Moscow and Moscow Oblast this problem was mentioned only by 7 percent of respondents and in Kazakhstan and the Urals by 12-14 percent, whereas in the Northwest (especially in Petrozavodsk) that number rose to 20 percent. The situation is similar with the problem of widespread use of connections and unjust distribution of goods and services. It was most pressing in Eastern Siberia (17 percent) and Kazakhstan (19 percent), whereas in the Northwest and the Moscow region it was felt much less acutely, by 6 percent and 8 percent, respectively.

In the Moscow region, the three most pressing problems were: housing (20 percent), pollution (19 percent) and low income and high prices (15 percent).

We have mentioned only the most important results of the study. In the fall of 1989 we plan to repeat the poll using the same format, which will allow us to compare the results of the two polls.

#### **Gypsy Communities, High Crime Incidence Described**

18300524 Moscow *TRUD* in Russian 6 Apr 89 p 4

[Article by V. Belykh: "Fortune-Telling With Broken Fates"]

[Text] Our car slid alongside the ramshackle fences and stopped. Jumping out from behind the nearest gate, a dark-complexioned boy looked at us with surprise and quickened his pace down the road. Involuntarily, I shivered slightly with cold—even with a warm jacket and boots, it was fairly chilly today, but the boy went rushing along barefoot in the thawing snow.

"A spy," laughed Moscow criminal investigation associate Boris Denisov. "Now everyone knows about our trip to Pokrov. Well, that is all right. By the way, here is the home of the most famous 'breaker,' Persuda..."

Unexpectedly, it so happened that in order to work on this difficult and rather delicate subject, I had to seek the assistance of the law enforcement agencies. Unfortunately, only there was it possible to obtain relatively complete information about the present-day Lovars and Kolderars—two of the numerous ethnic gypsy groups living in our country. Unquestionably, information gleaned from so specific a source suffers from a certain departmental bias. Alas, I had no choice. Strange though it may seem, sometimes it is easier for us to find out the details of the lives of distant Amazon tribes, than what situation our own fellow citizens, members of the so-called "small peoples," are in right now.

By the way, I did not go empty-handed to the Moscow criminal investigation office. I did know the general outlines of their prehistory. I knew that a number of steps were taken by Soviet authorities in the mid-1920s to find work for the gypsies and familiarize them with socially useful labor. For example, 30 gypsy artels were organized in Moscow, basically under the "Tsygkishcheprom" and "Tsygkhimprom" associations.

National culture also began to develop. A gypsy alphabet based on Russian characters was created in 1926. By 1932, there were three gypsy 4-year schools in Moscow alone, and pedagogical courses, where gypsy teachers for USSR schools were trained, were held at Petrovskiy Park.

In 1927, the first issue of the gypsy sociopolitical and literary journal, ROMANY ZORYA (Gypsy Dawn) came out, and in 1930 yet another monthly gypsy journal, NEVO DROM (New Path), appeared. The first almanac of gypsy poets in their native language was published in 1931. However, alas, the good work begun in the first years of Soviet power gradually came to naught. Both the gypsy schools and the journals vanished... The human goals—gradually familiarizing gypsies with normal life, creating an intelligentsia, and developing culture—were, after the establishment of the cult of personality, gradually replaced by cold administrative pressure. Even the USSR SNK 1931 resolution on organizing gypsy kolkhozes was used to justify repression. Gypsy camps were surrounded by soldiers, and they were herded into wagons and taken to a settlement in Siberia—without warm clothing, food, or assistance.

There was the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Ukase "On Settled Life for Gypsies" in 1956. The eternal nomads now had to have a permanent place of residence and a permit. The ages-old movement of the gypsy camps was halted. Mass settlement occurred at the places of past nomad encampments. However, while most gypsies somehow were able to start a new life, the Lovars and Kolderars responded to all the oppression with an ancient method, worked out through the ages: complete self-isolation... They were not absorbed into the world surrounding them, and in many ways preserved the ancient, original culture and language. Yet they paid a terrible price for this: many of the Lovar and Kolderar families started down a criminal path. Not for enrichment's sake, but in order to survive...

Therefore, I ended up beyond the infamous 101st kilometer from the capital, in the city of Pokrov, accompanied not by ethnographers and sociologists, but with an agent from the criminal investigation office...

Unfortunately, no meeting took place with Persuda, the famous "breaker." She had left on her usual "tour," to lighten the pockets of credulous simpletons... However, we nonetheless succeeded in finding another, less successful swindler, Balerina, at home...

A "breaking," as criminal statistics confirm, is one of the most common violations of the law among the Lovar gypsies. Everything seems fairly innocent at first. A taxi stops by the sidewalk and a woman, jumping out, runs to the future victim and asks him to break a 100- or 50-ruble bill, because, she says, the driver does not have change. There is an endless conversation, manipulations with money and, finally, a friend shouts from the same car that everything is settled already, there is no need to get change. There is a recount again, and the taxi leaves. With surprise, the stupefied "client" suddenly notices that he has only half as much money. This is a "breaking." It so happens that an experienced "breaker" can gain up to 70-80 thousand rubles in a month of these "tours." However, such "earnings" are rare and often there is barely enough to make ends meet.

I am looking at Balerina's wretched home: multicolored, dilapidated furniture, rags, and a clump of ragged children. One need not be surprised: she is virtually the only breadwinner for a family of more than 20 people. Her husband is ill, coughs constantly, and takes pills. Yet, after all, until recently Balerina was a fairly famous scoundrel—the leader of an crime group of apartment thieves.

Apartment robberies are the second type of crime encountered among the Lovars. Here, as a rule, the victims are elderly people. The scenario is simple. Here is how the act unfolds.

The doorbell rings. There is a crowd of women on the threshold.

"Will you let us change a baby?"

Then the kind-hearted householder is punished for his kindness: with noise and din, he is ousted into the kitchen and, using the confusion, the scoundrel slips into the apartment. Her mastery is so great that she can in go through the entire apartment in a few minutes, finding and taking (or at another time, by breaking in with a set of keys) money, bonds, jewelry... The scoundrel gets up to 70 percent of all the loot for her "work," and her word is law for every member of the group. By the way, it cannot be otherwise. After all, these criminal formations are, as a rule, organized according to the "family contract," made up only of close relatives. More precisely, of female relatives. Basically, only the women "go to work."

They often feed their families and procure money through crime. The husbands quite frequently play the role of protectors or drivers for their wives. The satellites of idleness are well known—alcohol, narcotics... There are no official statistics here, but the observations of inspectors from the criminal investigation office indicate that intoxication has become a real calamity for the Lovars and Kolderars. Even little boys recognize the taste of the terrible poison at an early age...

Unlike Balerina's, the house of the other, more "successful" breaker, "the Great Persuda, was roomier and richer. This is also understandable: its mistress is, in fact, head of a strong clan that engages both in "breaking," as well as in apartment robbery. Across the country, invisible threads run from her to traveling crime groups. They are made up of her closest relatives, who are drawn into this dangerous trade from early childhood. Indeed, the most terrible thing is that the swindler's trade is passed along by heredity, and ever more new people are drawn into criminal activity.

The joy of the agents, when they managed to "take" the greatest organizer and leader of several groups of apartment thieves, a certain Nyanka, knew no bounds. The investigation has irrefutable materials at its disposal, but the ringleader of the crime clan turned out to be... a mother heroine.

True, the boys had become drug addicts and the little girls—apartment thieves, and half of the offspring already had convictions. By the way, this probably does not affect the receipt of the honorary "mother heroine" title. (To the point: is it not about time to award it not just for the quantity of children born, but also for their upbringing?) Nyanka's enormous family continues to live, as before, in the city of Kalinin in six private homes with 14 cars, ready at any moment to send a crime group anywhere, consisting of 20 daughters, sisters-in-law, daughters-in-law, sisters, nieces...

Only the men and children were home at the next house. Some of the women were "out;" others were already in prison. To make up for this, the patriarch of this family, the old gypsy Dmitriy, was home. Slowly, a long story unwound. After all, in his day, the master of a household still traveled with the camp, but almost 40 years have passed since they were settled in Pokrov. Of course, it is hard to live. He has not seen his wife for a long time, and the oldest son's spouse is in Potma, in Mordovia, serving a sentence. Asked who among the men is working and where, he begins complaining that no one will hire a gypsy to work anywhere.

Much remains from the days of the nomad camps. The children do not stay in school for long—two, three, or four grades, and that is enough. The girls, just as they did years ago, marry early, at age 15-16, and sometimes even at 13-14. Bride-stealing also still happens.

The old gypsy Dmitriy talked a bit more about his life, the history of his people, and its customs and traditions. However, his words also held nostalgia, an uncertainty of the present, and a fear of what tomorrow might bring.

How is it that an entire people has ended up basically only under the observation of the law enforcement agencies? The local authorities and other departments do not, as a rule, want to participate in its fate. True, right now, with the introduction of the Law on Individual

Labor and Cooperative Activity, the craftsmen-Kolderars are gradually turning to their old, honorable trades. In some places, even the Lovars have started fattening up steers. However, on the whole, there are few changes in their way of life even today.

Is there a solution to the situation that has been created? Having returned from Pokrov, I asked this of N. Demetr, an associate at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Ethnography, and a descendant of the noted collector of gypsy folklore, Kolderar Ishvan Demetr.

"For some reason, when it is a question of gypsies, people basically recollect the "Roman" theater and our family," Nadezhda Grigoryevna says. "However, for example, no one can say precisely how many gypsies there are in the USSR today. Apparently, several hundred thousand. After all, many prefer to 'write in' Russian, Ukrainian, Moldavian, or Tatar on their passports... They thus avoid unnecessary complications in finding jobs. As opposed to other countries where our people live, there are no television or radio broadcasts in the gypsy language, and books and magazines are not published in it in the Union. Thus, our language and original culture is gradually disappearing. The restaurant-farcical version of it, forcibly introduced, has nothing in common with the real thing. Indeed, fairly often it is even disseminated, from gypsy stages, by people of a different nationality altogether. I am not even talking

about movie fakes like "Gypsies of Asia," which, by the way, listed me as a consultant in the credits, although I categorically refused to participate in that film after reading the script."

"Many gypsies have found a place of their own in modern life. Many of them have a higher education: scientists, leaders of culture, teachers, engineers... However, the fate of a small segment of the rest cannot help but generate alarm. In particular, the fate of the representatives of conservative groups like the Lovars and Kolderars.

"I do not have any ready-made, all-embracing answers to the situation. However, I think that a gypsy center, if created, could do a great deal. Such a center, with the ethnic intelligentsia's aid, would be able to help gypsies take their proper place among the peoples of the USSR. An opportunity to interact among themselves, with the aid of the mass information media, is needed... Are there really so few ways to enable escape from the vicious circle created in past decades? Ways must be found..."

So, a great deal is being said about the problems with our ethnic policy. These make themselves known first here, then there. While correcting old mistakes and restoring social justice, we must not forget the small peoples, thrust in their time onto the fringes of our life.

**Specialists in Ethnic Relations Discuss Nationalities Issues**

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No 18, 2-8 May 89 pp 24-26*

[Specialists in ethnic relations in the USSR, experts with different views on the problem, met in the N.T. editorial office. Taking part in the conversation were Galina Starovoitova, Cand.Sc. (History), Maskhud Junusov, D.Sc. (Philosophy), Gennady Batygin, D.Sc. (Philosophy) and Gamlet Tavadov, D.Sc. (Philosophy). The round-table discussion was conducted by Marina Shakinina.]

[Text] NEW TIMES. For decades we've claimed—I mean sociologists—that in our country the nationalities question has been solved. In the years of perestroika, ethnic conflicts have flared up—Nagorno Karabakh, Alma-Ata, Baltic Republics... And now Georgia... Did the experts foresee such developments? Had sociologists noticed the symptoms of trouble?

Starovoitova. Of course we'd seen and noticed. In 1978 I witnessed events in Transcaucasia. The Baltic processes in those years were overshadowed by the national movement in Abkhazia and Georgia in defence of the national languages and cultures.

Many people know what happened in Alma-Ata. However, only a few know about the disturbances in Northern Ossetia in 1981 and in Yakutia, Moldavia and elsewhere in recent years. For ethnosociologists, these problems have been an open secret. It's another matter that we've been unable to discuss them openly.

Perestroika is not the cause of ethnic problems in our society today. It has lanced a boil that came to a head a long time ago and has opened up ways of releasing emotions that have been building up for years.

Junusov. At one time, the view prevailed in sociology that the key to the national process was rapprochement, internationalization. Such theoretical formulas often clashed with reality, but the situation was such that open discussion was discouraged, to put it mildly. But none the less, we tried to change the situation. About 8 years ago, we prepared recommendations on bilingualism in the Baltic Republics, listing professions in which the knowledge of two languages was compulsory, for instance, retailing, medicine, etc. Why were we not listened to? The unresolved problem has now become acute.

Tavadov. Undoubtedly, sociologists share the blame for the fact that by and large for a long time we praised the nationalities policy and its results. Even the events we've just been talking about were not mentioned in scientific literature, nor was any analysis of them made. The publications that have come out fairly recently are full of enthusiastic reviews and comments about the state of ethnic relations in our country.

It would be wrong to explain the aggravation of the nationalities problem as fortuity or coincidence. These processes are more complex.

One of the main reasons I'd refer to for this state of affairs was the gross distortion of the principles of Lenin's nationalities policy, the tyranny with regard to whole nations adopted in the Stalinist period.

It should be said that the nationalities question was neglected for more than 50 years—there wasn't a single party, government, public body, or single scientific institution specializing in the problem. There was only the Soviet of Nationalities and it was purely nominal.

N.T. So, if such a body had existed, the problem wouldn't have become acute. Aren't we just saying this to console ourselves?

Tavadov. I don't know. The fact that there was no mechanism for settling ethnic problems may have played the chief role in exacerbating ethnic frictions. Recriminations, misunderstandings and unresolved conflicts have been building up for years. Note that any manifestation of social injustice, difficulties, or defective economic development affects ethnic relations.

Batygin. What seems to be the problem is that we have become accustomed to inventing an ideal model of socialism that is simply a myth. We are the slaves of words. "The friendly family of nations," "the father of nations," "national in form, socialist in content"—we've come up with these clichés and are afraid to admit that they fly in the face of reality.

What we need everywhere nowadays is ordinary common sense and responsibility for the destiny of our children. I am for pluralism, but society must have principles that are not subject to revision. One such principle is the natural right of people and nations to choose their destiny themselves and not to impose their visions of the best social and national structure on others. Everyone should be enabled to express his will, and peoples should be given the opportunity to settle their problems themselves, of their own accord and through non-violent relations with other nations. This I see as the main objective of the coming CC CPSU Plenary Meeting on the nationalities questions. This is a question of political awareness. To resolve conflicts by obsolete authoritarian methods is not just immoral. As a rule, violence leaves a terrible mark in several dimensions, in various spheres. The consequences of the hasty political decision by the Georgian leaders on the night of April 8 have now taken on a national color, since it was the troops of other nationalities rather than the Georgian militia that played the chief role in actions in Rustaveli Prospekt. Instead of perpetrator/victim, we now have this: Russian/Georgian. The result is an outbreak of Russophobia in Georgia.

It's high time we gave up the idea of cloudless existence. Even the friendliest family is inconceivable without conflicts. But depending on how they are settled, conflicts can be stabilizing or destructive. Everything depends on the family's members.

I think we must admit that although some people dislike each other, they have no right to dictate to each other how they should live. All they can do is abide by the common law. Each individual must be seen above all as a human being rather than a representative of a nation or a class.

Starovoitova. We are still slaves to words—whence, the practice of keeping silence about what's really happening in this or that region of the country. If a thing isn't said, then it doesn't exist. The belief persists that one should say nothing, avoid arousing too much interest, or attracting attention, and that this will calm nationalist feelings. Such an approach is the least conducive to resolving very real conflicts.

This also concerns the tragedy in Tbilisi. When calls were made in Abkhazia to leave the Georgian SSR and join the RSFSR as an autonomous republic, the central press failed to report it. Then in April of this year it was demanded that Abkhazia be turned into a sovereign republic! The central press was silent again... This silence was misinterpreted by the public in Tbilisi, and it became the catalyst for the recent tragic events.

The status and rights of nationalities included in the national-state formations of other nationalities certainly represent a complex problem. This issue calls for a new approach that takes into account a wide range of ethno-political methods known to the world community—obviously, non-violent, democratic methods.

N.T. Are ethnic conflicts under socialism specific or is this a single problem that has not been resolved down the ages?

Starovoitova. I think some fundamental principles of ethnic relations are universal, of course, for prejudice exists in every society. But we inherit a painful legacy with regard to ethnic relations, and this makes things more difficult. This is the legacy of certain crimes of Stalinism, such as out-lawing whole nations, deporting them on the principle of collective responsibility, and branding intellectuals from ethnic minorities acting in defence of their own cultures and languages as nationalists. State anti-Semitism—the "doctors' case" and the campaign against "rootless cosmopolitans" can also be traced back to Stalinist times.

Batygin. The decimation of the intelligentsia of ethnic minorities, bearers of the historical memory of a nation and of national cultures as a whole, can also be numbered among the crimes of Stalinism.

For instance, in a number of republics—Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan and Moldavia—the traditional alphabets were replaced by Cyrillic. Cultures with many centuries of tradition behind them were dealt a heavy blow.

N.T. Earlier, the key word for our national policy was "internationalization." Do sociologists today have a clear view of what the concept of ethnic relations in the USSR should be?

Starovoitova. I don't think they have at this stage. There is no criterion for optimal ethnocultural advancement. Earlier, we always took a positive view of voluntary and natural assimilation and the loss—in the process—of a native language and the adoption of Russian. Today, Mikhail Gorbachev makes it clear in his book "Perestroika: New Thinking for Our Country and the World" that each national language, each national culture is an asset we must not lose. Not only plants and animals but whole ethnic cultures can be entered in the Red Book. Their preservation enriches all of humanity.

Today we are still far from having formed a new platform of ethnic relations. In general, the dynamism of events is such that not one of the concepts we already have offers the best solution. I've visited Karabakh three times. Just recently, I recommended solving the problem through condominium—dual administration. Now I see that this is unfeasible.

N.T. So what should be done?

Batygin. Even now we plan the best way of settling a conflict sitting in our studies. We should finally admit that any speculative concepts built on coercive management or even moderate persuasion are senseless today. I accept only one prescription and one concept: to do everything possible to prevent bloodshed. What happened in Tbilisi was the result of a coercive approach to problems.

Junusov. I for one believe that we have the common concept of Marxism-Leninism on ethnic relations. The fundamental principles of nationalities policy remain, and should be applied creatively rather than dogmatically. The opportunity has emerged in the new conditions of democracy to expose "smoldering" conflicts and, consequently, to resolve them. I don't think that what happened in Karabakh was inevitable. A lot depended on the political skill of the local regional and republican bodies. In a complex situation the Georgian leadership did not find a proper solution—perhaps, partly because it ignored the Karabakh experience. The leaders of the republic have resigned—something new for us. But this is only one aspect of what I call political responsibility.

Tavadov. No concept of restructuring ethnic relations in the spirit of new thinking has been worked out so far. We are only beginning to comprehend all aspects of ethnic processes. On the threshold of the CC CPSU Plenary

Meeting on the nationalities question, we should thoroughly study what the Baltic Popular Fronts and other national movements offer. To my mind, we have come to realize that palliative, compromise decisions won't help. We must be prepared for bold steps.

In my view, one of the main tasks is to perfect national statehood and solve federation problems. Union republics have actually turned into autonomous ones and resolve nothing on their own. Some nations, like the Crimean Tartars for one, have lost their statehood, others have never had any. But just look, there is an estimated half a million Koreans and several hundred thousand Uigurs in our country. National statehood has "fossilized" at the 1936 level, while dramatic changes have taken place in the development of the republics, and Tataria, Bashkiria, Yakutia do better than a number of union republics on nearly all indices.

Sometimes it's argued, what's the difference—a union republic, an autonomous republic, a national district? There is a difference, and people are not indifferent towards the form of their statehood, for this, they feel, breeds inequality.

Starovoitova. Incidentally, they note that they have different rights in the sphere of legislative initiative.

Tavadov. The second issue to be resolved is the problem of nations most identified with a given territory, from whom a republic derives its name.

The third is the protection of the rights of national minorities. Many minorities are in a bad way, and if urgent measures are not adopted, their very existence may be at risk.

What's most important is that the development of national culture and language should not lead to isolationism. It seems to me that just such trends are discernible in the Baltic Republics. The problems of one nation must not be resolved to the detriment of other ethnic groups.

Gennady Batygin mentioned that Man must above all be Man... National feelings are very resilient and viable, and it's rash to neglect them. Sociological studies show that people regard themselves by and large as representatives first of an ethnic group or republic and only then as Soviet citizens.

Individuality must combine the national, the international and what is common to all. What is the most significant component? What is common to all.

N.T. Let's talk about the problems of bilingualism. The idea of introducing national languages in the Baltic Republics has excited the public. The Russian-speaking population in Latvia and Estonia is approaching 50 per

cent, in Lithuania, around 20 per cent. If the Russian language is no more regarded as a state language, this part of the republic's population will find itself in a difficult situation...

Tavadov. Some people imagine that bilingualism is something specifically Soviet, almost an offspring of socialism. Bilingualism is taken for granted in any state of more than one nation, where it is objectively required and necessary.

The problem is that for us bilingualism has virtually boiled down to learning Russian alone—sometimes even by compulsion. The equality of languages and their peaceful coexistence have been upset. There is nothing wrong with the introduction of the state language, if knowledge of it is not to become a qualification for holding a government or party post, and this will not provoke difficulties in contacts between people of different nationalities. My personal feeling is that if a person lives for a long time in a given republic, he must also study the language of the people of that republic. Not only that, he must learn to respect the national customs, traditions, rituals and mentality of that people. Regrettably, our awareness of what kind of relations peoples within the USSR should maintain leaves much to be desired.

Starovoitova. There is a view among psychologists that the mechanisms for learning first and second languages are fundamentally different. This first language constitutes the deep structures, and if a second language is added, our Estonian colleagues believe that this slows down the child's development.

And some "internationalists" insist on having children speak and think in two languages at once. There have been suggestions that not only bilingual kindergartens but also bilingual nurseries be set up.

N.T. And what about the tradition of Russian intellectuals of teaching three or four languages from childhood? And mixed families where a child learns to speak two languages from birth—the mother's and the father's, and then outside the family this same child is often steeped in a third linguistic environment? There is every indication that this only makes the personality richer, more versatile and more flexible...

Starovoitova. Even Goethe said: I am a man as many times over as I know languages. The more we know, the better. But Estonian psychologists claim that the second language is better learned from the age of 5 or 6 on, and we don't have sufficient scientific grounds, or empirical and experimental data to refute the theory of linguistic relativity.

N.T. Coercion won't do any good—this is becoming clear to all in the era of democratization. A person must have a choice of language, as well as everything else. It's up to the individual to decide how many languages and

which to learn. He may learn one, two or ten, or none, even his native one, if he doesn't wish. The point is that any civilized person will himself come to realize that to study languages is necessary, especially if he lives in a republic with an ethnically mixed population.

Batygin. And we are just trying to invent: a bit of this language, a bit of that. We are working out a concept and are forcing nations and ethnic groups to fit into it consistently. But life is wiser than we are. When we approach problems, we should proceed from the interests of people, the representatives of various nationalities, who know themselves how to order their existence, obviously with respect for certain sacred principles.

Tavadov. And yet, our ethnic problems are countless, and a mechanism must be found to order ethnic relations, and take the interests of the minority and the majority into account.

Batygin. Only a legal one. Minorities and majorities have nothing to do with this. The majority is always right, simply because it is larger. There is a mechanism for dealing with ethnic relations—the law and guarantees of human rights, which should be honored, even if it is not to our advantage.

N.T. And what should one proceed from in resolving territorial disputes—history?

Tavadov. I don't think there is a rule. All circumstances and reasons should be considered. Every case should be examined on its own merits.

Junusov. Undoubtedly. Perestroika presupposes transition from administrative methods of management to democratic ones. We are learning democracy, and this has proved hard. Not everything will go smoothly. The road will be thorny. But we need to learn democracy in ethnic relations as well. There is no other way.

**Academician Views Perestroika in Ecology,  
Industrialization of Outer Space**  
18300601 Moscow NAUCHNYY KOMMUNIZM in  
Russian No 3, Mar 89 pp 13-24

[Article by Arkadiy Dmitriyevich Ursul, vice president of the MSSR Academy of Sciences, academician of the MSSR Academy of Sciences, corresponding member of the International Astronautical Academy: "Perestroika in the Sphere of Ecology: Problems and Prospects"]

[Text] The debates that occurred during the 19th All-Union Party Conference showed how great the need is for discussing ecological problems. This was specially emphasized at the July (1988) CPSU Central Committee Plenum. The increasingly greater concern of communists and of all of the country's public (which came up in

particular with the initiative to create a voluntary ecological society and an ecology fund) reflects a process of ecologization of consciousness in the course of perestroika.

It must be said that until recently we had not been devoting sufficient attention to the problems of the environment, and therefore we have fallen behind even in assertion of the very existence of these problems. "As in the case of most other global problems," writes V. V. Zagladin, "Western science was the first to begin talking, and talking very anxiously at that, about the ecology problem. What was our response to articles written in this regard? Either we ignored them, or we declared that all of this was bourgeois propaganda, which wishes to distract the attention of the masses from the real problems—that is, chiefly the socioeconomic and sociopolitical problems. What happened was approximately the same thing that happened earlier with genetics and cybernetics, which were declared to be bourgeois pseudosciences, and with many other problems" (Zagladin, V. V., "Ecology and Socialism," in "Ekologiya: put vyzhivaniya i razvitiya chelovechestva. Pozitsiya uchenykh" [Ecology: The Path of Mankind's Survival and Development. The Position of Scientists], Moscow, 1988, p 5).

Although there are many things in bourgeois conceptions examining the problems of ecology that are unacceptable from Marxist positions, they do contain a grain of reason as well—common human roots, examination of the causes and laws of the advent and development of the ecology problem. It was a long time before we came to understand the need for uniting the effort of all mankind in solving what is now the global problem of the environment. We focused our main attention on the class aspect and on the accomplishments of socialism in resolving these issues. Some of the accomplishments were in fact real, but there were many negative things as well, as was discussed in the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On Fundamental Restructuring of the Nature Protection Effort in the Country" (see PRAVDA, 17 January 1988), in the statement made to the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference by F. T. Morgun, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Protection of Nature, and in numerous articles published in journals and newspapers.

The ecological situation in the country and in the world is now such that pessimistic motives are voiced much more loudly than optimistic ones at conferences on environmental problems. Many ecologists feel that irreversible global changes will occur in the genetic make-up and health of the people within just a few generations (in two, some people feel), which would predetermine the gradual die-off of the human race. Of course, substantial proof would be required to support the reality of such a tragic finale, but apparently even a vague notion of this end would significantly promote ecologization of consciousness and displacement of naively optimistic, technocratic outlooks from our minds, which (let us not conceal this fact) continue to dominate and catastrophically afflict the biosphere and the people.

From my point of view one of the main causes of ecologization of the consciousness of the masses is the biological and climatic consequences of a possible thermonuclear global catastrophe predicted by scientists of the USSR and the USA. The gloomy pictures of the onset of a nuclear winter and of omnicide—the demise of all living things on the planet—significantly influenced the orientation of the consciousness of an enormous majority of the people, and led to a treaty to reduce the nuclear danger, the first in the history of mankind (the INF Treaty between the USSR and the USA).

Apparently, despite the great mathematical complexity, it was important to calculate what “peaceful” explosions of pesticide, nuclear-power and other “bombs” of more-delayed action could lead to. This resulted in another qualitative shift in public opinion in the direction of ecological security. Such mathematical models and the scenarios of ecological development based on them could confirm the irrationality of not only a global thermonuclear war but also the commonly accepted, traditional practices of productive exploitation of nature, and the method of interaction between man and nature prevailing today, and they could argue in favor of the fastest possible restructuring in the area of ecology.

An acute struggle is now going on between traditional technocratic (technicist), economic and ecological consciousness. The rate of ecologization of the consciousness, and correspondingly of practical activity, depends directly on the extent to which traditional economic thinking (and political thinking as well) would undergo restructuring, and to what extent different, nontraditional priorities and reference points are selected. Ensuring ecological security is the task of all people of the planet, but we are particularly interested in the future of communism. And not just we but all sensibly thinking, progressive people in the West who are giving thought to the need for reassessing our values. Thus, G. Parsons believes that “the planetary victory of socialism in a world devoid of nature is an empty victory” (Parsons, G., “Chelovek v sovremennom mire” [Man in the Modern World], Moscow, 1985, p 313).

Discussing the future of communism, we justifiably felt, and continue to feel, that “all productive activity under communism will be organized on the basis of the use of highly effective technical resources and technologies, and harmonious interaction between man and nature will be ensured” (“Materialy XXVII syezda KPSS” [Proceedings of the 27th CPSU Congress], Moscow, 1986, p 138). Also considering that large-scale, accelerated degradation of nature is actually occurring, scientists validly emphasize that “realization of the communist ideal of the future would create the real preconditions for society’s sensible influence upon nature, it will make it possible to effectively restore the disturbed equilibrium between man and biosphere, and it will impart a harmonious nature to mutual relations between man, society and nature” (“Sotsializm i

progress chelovechestva. Globalnyye problemy tsivilizatsii” [Socialism and the Progress of Mankind. The Global Problems of Civilization], Moscow, 1987, p 382).

In my opinion (I have no wish to get into a debate on terminology), to attribute harmonization of the interactions between mankind and the natural environment only to the new society, as is done in some socioecological works, is hardly realistic (see Komarov, V. D., “Social Ecology as a Science,” in “Voprosy sotsioekologii” [Problems of Socioecology], Lvov, 1987, p 38). We do not know the precise moment of transition to the highest phase of this formation, but we do know that there would hardly be a possibility for discussing such harmonization even in the second half of the next century, inasmuch as the natural environment would already be irreversibly polluted and disturbed, unless the mechanisms of harmonization are put into play.

Here is what B. Commoner, a well known American ecologist, said (a rather long time ago now, but since then the situation has only changed for the worse): “It is my own suggestion, based on data at my disposal, that the continuing deterioration of the quality of the environment, in industrially developed countries in any case, is a threat to ecological systems, a threat that is so serious that were the situation not to change, the environment would lose its capacity for maintaining conditions suitable for the existence of civilized society. Some part of mankind might survive such a catastrophe, inasmuch as the rate of deterioration of the environment will decrease with the fall of civilization. These vestiges of mankind would transform into neobarbarians with a very, very indefinite future” (Commoner, B., “Zamykayushchiysya krug. Priroda, chelovek, tekhnologiya” [An Unbroken Circle. Nature, Man, Technology], translated from English, Leningrad, 1974, p 157). This means that half-measures calling for optimization would hardly help today. Wherever it is still possible, we need to not only optimize but also harmonize the relations between man and nature, and rather than beginning the effort to harmonize all relations with nature, communist society should finish the job.

But if we assume that persistence of the traditional means of exploitation of nature would lead to degradation of not only the biosphere but also the entire human race as early as some time in the 21st century, realizing a communist future could only be dreamed of on some other planets. We will return to the cosmic aspects of progress at the end of the article; for now, let us examine some of the prospects of global development, which do not at all exclude creation of a classless society here on Earth.

The gloomy ecological forecasts that face all of mankind on the condition that traditional practices of the exploitation of nature persist do not in my opinion undermine the idea itself of the possibility of building communism in our country. The premise in the party program stating

that mankind's movement toward socialism and communism is unstoppable despite all of the nonuniformity, complexity and conflict remains valid when we consider not only internal social conflicts but also the aggravated conflicts between society and nature.

However, we also need to provide more substantial consideration in this matter to the ecological conditions and prerequisites for development of the communist structure. I would not be revealing any secrets if I said that to this date, most attention, if not all, has been devoted only to the social aspects (in the broad sense of the term)—that is, to the economic, political and other aspects—of the transition to a communist future in the USSR. This was reflected in the definition of the concept of “communism” given in the CPSU Program (see “Materialy XXVII syezda KPSS,” p 138).

In the meantime the present ecological situation in the country and in the world generally indicates that the ecological conditions and prerequisites for achievement of communism are no less important than socioeconomic conditions. It would seem that I am not revealing anything new here because the classics themselves pointed out the interdependence between the history of nature and the history of people (see Marks, K. and Engels, F., “Soch.” [Works], Vol 3, p 16). This very valid idea of the founders of Marxism has found itself on the periphery of scientific enquiry, including even in the course of creative development of Marxism itself, as was already mentioned at the beginning of the article. Otherwise not only would we have started intensively working on the problems of ecology sooner than bourgeois authors, but we would also have warned mankind earlier of the impending ecological catastrophe. But this did not happen, and now the need for issuing such a warning is paramount. Today, in a time when socialism has entered a new stage of its development under the conditions of perestroika, it is extremely important not to simply turn more attention to the ecological problem but, if you will, to place it in the same category as all other social problems taken together. But this in my opinion would not at all be an “ecological turning point.” It seems to me that if we are talking about scientific communism per se, then the thesis that communist society could be created in our country would be valid only if ecologically safe development is ensured not only on our territory but also on a global and even a cosmic scale (prohibition of the militarization of outer space and its peaceful development). And it is right now that we must also begin fighting actively to create the conditions for ecologically safe development, in the same way that we are creating the appropriate socioeconomic conditions.

When it comes to the present stage in the development of our society, I suggest combining socioeconomic perestroika with ecological perestroika; I have already proposed this idea in a number of works (see Ursul, A. D., “Acceleration of Human Progress,” KOMMUNIST MOLDAVII, No 11, 1987; Ibid., “The Conception of Ecological Perestroika,” KOMMUNIST MOLDAVII,

No 7, 1988; Ibid., “Uskoreniye, intensifikatsiya, ekologiya (filosofsko- metodologicheskiye aspekty)” [Acceleration, Intensification, Ecology (Philosophical and Methodological Aspects)], Kishinev, 1988). If socioeconomic processes are not organically combined with ecological ones, you see, the goal of perestroika would not be a long-range goal. Speaking generally, if the goal of the society's restructuring is to attain new qualitative summits and to accelerate progress, then the following question arises: Would this acceleration be temporary, or would it continue into the distant historical future? This is an extremely fundamental question, inasmuch as in the course of implementing socialist pluralism in the press, we often encounter the point of view that the means are unimportant, that what is important is how we could quickly attain at least temporary acceleration of progress.

I cannot agree in principle with such a point of view, because it justifies acceleration of social progress at the expense of deterioration of the environment. Such temporary acceleration is soon superseded by deceleration, and it threatens ecological suicide. As we can see, it is important to account for the ecological safety of progress, especially when the discussion turns to the global and long-range prospects of development. The survival of civilization and the impending acceleration of progress would be impossible without fundamental ecological perestroika, which is referred to in the literature, not without grounds, as ecological revolution. It is precisely this kind of revolution, one having as its result the development of the noosphere as a biosphere in which interaction between man and nature is reasonably directed and harmonious, that is compatible with a communist future. This is why I suggest that in the course of further development of scientific communism, we also need to turn special attention to an idea of the young Karl Marx, who said that “as perfected naturalism, communism is equal to humanism, and as perfected humanism it is equal to naturalism; it is the *real* resolution of the conflicts between man and nature...” (Marks, K. and Engels, F., “Soch.,” Vol 42, p 116).

If we look at this important idea from the positions of the conceptions of acceleration and perestroika, it becomes understandable why we need to combine (and even identify in some sense) socioeconomic perestroika (including on a global scale) with ecological revolution, and namely in such a way that this would be unified sociornatural perestroika, not only guaranteeing the survival of all human civilization but also opening up the possibility for further acceleration of progress in a nature-conserving form.

The conception of perestroika and acceleration has already been analyzed from a socioeconomic aspect in party documents. And although it will be improved and creatively developed, the prospects are already clear to us. Ecological perestroika is another matter. Despite the

enormous flow of literature, the creation of the conception of ecological perestroyka has not moved significantly forward. And the problem lies not only with the pluralism and conflict of opinions. The system and the basic levers of perestroyka in application to ecology are still far from clear to all, even to specialists in socioecology, economic ecology and other ecological disciplines. An integral theoretical and methodological conception has not yet been created, not to mention the fact that the problems of interaction between society and nature that are traditionally addressed in all of the social sciences have not yet been brought together with the conception of acceleration and perestroyka. Posing this problem, I do not at all claim to solve it in this article, but I will try to indicate what from my point of view are the most promising directions of scientific enquiry.

We will be able to say that solution of the ecological problem is imminent only after we discover the main cause behind negative ecological consequences. From my point of view the causes of the ecological problem have to do not with particular social structures, as had been commonly assumed in the period prior to perestroyka, but with mankind in general. I fully support V. V. Zagladin's idea that the ecology problem "is a problem generated by the development of production and by anthropogenic activity in general. The contradictions and conflicts arising in the course of exchange of substances between man and nature is a phenomenon that arises in all societies, in all social orders" (Zagladin, V., Loc. cit., p 5).

Of course, if we were to immerse ourselves into "pre-human" history we would discover ecological problems and even global ecological catastrophes (such as that which led to the extinction of giant reptiles 65 million years ago) in the course of the biosphere's evolution as well. It is no accident that bioecology came into being before socioecology; but it is precisely the latter that must lead both the biosphere and the sociosphere out of that dead-end, crisis situation in which all living beings on the planet have now found themselves.

And so, social production—the basis of all of our material life—should be seen as the cause of today's ecological mess. It seems to me that precisely this fundamental understanding of the situation is truly Marxist, and not the ideology-ridden competitive interpretation dominating in the past, which lay the entire responsibility for the present ecological crisis only on the last, antagonistic formation. Until recently, production was seen only from the economic point of view, with its ecological side being forgotten or even ignored. But now it has become understood that ignorance of this unity, disregard of the fact that not only production but also nature itself is the basis of human vital activity, is one of the epistemological and active causes of the impending ecological crisis. This is why I suggest that the thesis as to the essential unity of economics and ecology, whether it manifests itself in production or in other forms of human activity

(which will be discussed below), is at the same time the cornerstone upon which an adequate solution to the problem of the environment will be built.

Social production came into being just 10,000-12,000 years ago, and prior to this the human race existed and developed for over 2 million years as a gathering culture. Referring to this as a pre-production period, it would not be irrelevant to turn our attention to the fact that although gathering was the basis of man's economic activity, nonetheless it was combined in the Paleolithic epoch with production of chiefly stone implements. Moreover from my point of view it was precisely this limitation upon the "productive part" of the developing economic system that was responsible for the lack of its economic prospects in regard to further acceleration of progress.

This acceleration was itself so slow that it occurred within the framework of a single socioeconomic formation, while transition to a producing economy led to an ever-accelerating supersession of formations, bringing us closer to the kind of future we are discussing. However, we need to give the gathering culture its due from the ecological aspect: It was biosphere-compatible. We should not of course idealize it, and not only so as not to increase the number of proponents of neo-Rousseauism. The fact is that primitive tribes did not have any kind of unified and, all the more so, ecophilic strategy. By the end of the Paleolithic epoch the global ecological situation had generally worsened significantly not only due to the Earth's cooling but also due to extermination of large game by Man the Hunter. Nonetheless the parameters of the biosphere did not go beyond the limits within which it had evolved earlier on the planet. Therefore it may be said that man's development and evolution of the biosphere did not "interfere" with each other—social progress occurred in a biosphere-compatible form—that is, coevolution of man and nature in its primordial (Paleolithic) form occurred.

It may be that it would also be pertinent to refer to the primordial means of interaction between society and nature, assuming we define it as a unity of economic and, simultaneously (something which was not done before), ecological characteristics which in their totality make up a given type of socioecological development. Then we could say that the primordial means of interaction between society and nature was coevolutional-gathering.

The concept "means of interaction between society and nature" introduced here is close to the concept "technology of social production" proposed by G. S. Gudozhnik (see Gudozhnik, G. S., "Technology of Social Production as a Scientific Category," VESTNIK MOSKOVSKOGO UNIVERSITETA. SERIYA 7. FILOSOFIYA, No 6, 1984). However, I nonetheless prefer a different concept, inasmuch as I do not feel very comfortable including here that part of the term which has to do with production. Although some elements of production do exist, Gudozhnik talks about gathering

technology, which is not a form of production. And even the term "technology" clearly emphasizes "production"—it is a characteristic of production, of transforming activity. But what we are talking about here and subsequently is a means of interaction between society and nature in which production does not exist, at least in its traditional (neolithic) form.

It is no accident that the advent of a producing economy is associated with the neolithic revolution, with the appearance of farming and animal raising. The transition from an appropriating economy (and from coevolutionary ecology) to a producing economy marks an economic revolution that advanced social progress forward significantly. While production resulted in socio-economic progress, it also imposed ecological regression on mankind, brought about by destructive principles of nature use, which manifested themselves as early as during neolithic agricultural development and which was significantly supplemented and deepened by the industrial revolution.

These principles of nature use (we can refer to them quite rightfully not only as common to all mankind but also neolithic) were based not only on production of new things which did not exist in nature by means of transformation and exploitation of the latter. Among them are the principle of decomposition, of disintegration of natural bodies and processes into components, and their independent use, the principle of breaking natural ecological ties, the principle of intensified exploitation of nature and disruption of evolutionarily dependent measures, and so on (see Gudozhnik, G. S., "Global Problems and Development of World Civilization," in "Marksistsko-Leninskaya kontsepsiya globalnykh problem sovremennosti" [Marxist-Leninist Conception of Global Problems of Modern Times], Moscow, 1985, pp 75-76). It is precisely these neolithic principles of both economics and ecology, which were responsible for the advent of the productive and noncoevolutionary means of interaction between society and nature, that must be changed, thus effecting an ecological revolution, and uniting it with revolutionary renewal of society.

In this case only global perestroyka of nature conservation can be the fundamental means of ensuring ecologically safe development, inasmuch as "a contradictory but *in many ways interrelated, integral world* is evolving" today ("Materialy XXVII syezda KPSS," p 21). I would have to agree completely with G. S. Khozin's idea that ecological security should be viewed as an objective of the highest priority, one to which all other objectives are subordinated, including in regard to ensuring national security. In view of the above, ecological security is something universal, something that is common to all mankind, and it cannot be realized at the expense of some other countries, at the expense "of the rest of mankind" (see Khozin, G. S., "Ecological Security—The Imperative of the Era," in "Ekologiya: puti vyzhivaniya i razvitiya chelovechestva" [Ecology: The Paths of Mankind's Survival and Development], pp 24-25).

In light of the above, not only development of the general methodology of solving the global ecological problem but also development of a specific program of its solution as an international, common program becomes important. In view of the systemic nature of all global problems, it will be a subprogram of solution of the former.

Although the revolutionary social changes that occurred previously were closely related to development of material production, they did not affect the principles of ecological mutual relations (since neolithic times). Social perestroyka in our country and on the scale of all mankind is now being elicited not only by purely social causes. From this day forward we will need to consider what have come to be called ecological needs, which are qualified as something new to human civilization (see Yarve, A. Ya., "The New Needs: Growth and Constraints," VOPROSY FILOSOFII, No 1, 1987). Ecological needs, which are new in comparison to economic ones, must be accounted for at the global and local scales—and to an increasingly greater degree at that—in our directive documents, especially in our basic directions for economic and social development (perhaps even without referring to ecological development by name for the moment). Up until now, we have never encountered a single word about ecology in the wordings of the principal objectives of all preceding five-year plans (and of the 12th as well). And all expenditures on ecology should rise significantly considering that even in the economic aspect, the loss suffered due to worsening of the environment is commensurate with the national income of the most highly developed countries.

Consideration of ecological needs will result in controllable self-constraints both at the scale of society and at the level of the individual who has assimilated the ecological imperatives. And we should hardly be required to satisfy the continually growing needs of the population at the expense of polluting the environment, especially when it comes to unnatural, imaginary needs. We should have to satisfy only the reasonable or, as Yarve called them more precisely from the standpoint of ecology in the article cited above, coevolutionarily reasonable needs. Thus attainment of a higher trajectory of development—the trajectory of acceleration—presupposes significant growth of the ecological safety of this movement.

The need for accounting for ecological needs, and thus the transition of the interaction between society and nature to a path of coevolution as well, coincide in time with transition of socioeconomic development to an intensive basis. In view of the unity of economics and ecology, in the future these paths will merge into a single highway of progress—intensive coevolutionary progress, one which will be able to ensure further acceleration of progress in a biosphere-compatible form.

Biosphere-compatibility of development is doubtlessly the foremost among all possible paths of ecologically safe progress in a sionatural system. And although the

relationship between man and the biosphere is the main focus of attention in the concept of coevolution, nonetheless we can also speak more broadly of the coevolution of society and nature, which is the most important form of ecological development interpreted as development of an ecosystem. From my point of view only two of the nine possible directions in the so-called matrix of ecological development are coevolutional: When the subject of the ecosystem undergoes progressive development without disturbing nature or in conjunction with its local improvement (see Ursul, A. D., "The Problem of Ecological Development," IZVESTIYA AN MSSR. SERIYA OBSHCHESTVENNYKH NAUK, No 3, 1985). And although as I noted above the essence of the ecological problem in the present stage of development is determined to a significant degree by its biospheric aspects, nonetheless it cannot be reduced to the latter. After all, man and society interact not only with living nature but also with other forms of movement of matter on the planet and in space. This is why other problems also arise as a result of and in conjunction with biospheric problems—limits on raw materials and energy, thermal and other forms of environmental pollution due to production wastes, and so on. Ultimately there are also spatial limits, brought about by the finite dimensions of our planet, as a result of which global problems common to all mankind have appeared in the last few decades.

In distinction from the primordial (and extensive) form of interaction between society and nature, the new coevolutional form will be immanently associated with the intensive path of development of production and of the other forms of the indicated interaction. I am referring to development of a new method of interaction between society and nature which would also be reasonably called intensive-coevolutional. Intensification of production, and of all social activity in general, is interpreted as increasingly wider inclusion of qualitative agents into this activity while simultaneously minimizing quantitative parameters. Intensification is a unique sort of extreme principle of social activity, or, using the terminology of game theory, it may also be called the maximin of quality and quantity (the maximum of quality at a minimum of quantity). In the wide sense (not just economic), intensification necessarily presupposes all-out ecologization of production and other forms of human activity; it means bringing socioeconomic and ecological effectiveness (safety) into a single whole.

As a technological revolution, ecological perestroika should not have an effect on further growth of socioeconomic effectiveness, but it should change the means of function of material production, converting it completely (within the limits of the possible) to wasteless and recycling production. In this sense it would be organized in accordance with the principle of a closed (closing in Barry Commoner's interpretation) cycle, which is what is observed in natural conditions in the biosphere.

At the same time in view of physical laws (chiefly thermodynamics and synergetics), wasteless technology

is not always possible, and therefore ecological perestroika cannot be reduced to just creating closed ecological production cycles. In principle, the strategy of this perestroika turns out to be systemic and multifactorial, in the same way that comprehensive intensification, of which ecologization in all of its forms and aspects is a part, is integral and multifactorial. The ecophilic strategy of intensification or, as I have named it, adaptive intensification, includes the entire system of qualitative factors and sources of development of economic activity, which change and multiply with the passage of time, forming a self-developing dynamic system (see Zhuchenko, A. A. and Ursul, A. D., "Strategiya adaptivnoy intensifikatsii selskokhozyaistvennogo proizvodstva" [The Strategy of Adaptive Intensification of Agricultural Production], Kishinev, 1983).

I would like to turn attention—besides to introducing adaptive mechanisms, wasteless technologies and recycling processes into ecologized intensive production—to a number of other directions and characteristics of man's economic activity which may possibly appear in the future. It is interesting in this connection that traits and characteristics that are alternatives to the traditional forms of economic activity that has its origins back in the neolithic era are revealed to a significant degree on the basis of the law of negation of negation. I am referring to development, on a new basis, of characteristics inherent to primitive classless society in the Paleolithic epoch, and in part in the beginning of the neolithic era.

What this means is that there may be a renaissance of some characteristics of a gathering culture at the new level of development of productive forces and science. We will have to switch to this path right now, if we are to solve the food problem for all mankind sensibly and for the long term. The quantity of food must be increased not only through traditional cultivated plants and domesticated animals, but also chiefly through an increase in the diversity of species and, most importantly, of integral, stable biosystems introduced into the biosphere as sources of food and raw materials. "Of the almost 3 million species of animals, plants and microorganisms inhabiting the Earth, man could extract an entire range of species which would probably be much more useful to him and possess higher productivity than those which he utilizes today" (Timofeyev-Resovskiy, N. V., "Biosphere and Mankind," KHIMIYA I ZHIZN, No 7, 1987, p 23). Moreover in my opinion this last direction of solving the food problem should outstrip bioproduction (that is, agriculture plus bioengineering) in both quality and quantity in the future.

What this would require is not so much to create new agriculture land and equipment as to more intensively develop the biological, chemical and ecological branches of science, which would open up new possibilities for creating nontraditional products containing a larger diversity of organic substances. Sensible use of the enormous food potential created by the biosphere in the

course of billions of years of evolution is no less important than development of traditional agricultural crops on the basis of intensive technology. Quantitative growth of the latter may be decreased significantly in this case, inasmuch as the overall diversity of organic substances introduced into the diet would grow. At the same time, development of an adaptive strategy in the course of comprehensive intensification of agriculture would lead to growth of the yields of cultivated plants and their resistance to variations in weather, which taken together would significantly increase the planet's biological productivity. Being the most complete in comparison with past and present utilization of natural factors and processing, "neo-gathering" would now be carried out within the framework of the intensive or, more accurately, comprehensively intensive path of development. Moreover if other biospheres are discovered in outer space, their utilization would also proceed through a "gathering" stage (following meticulous study of the entire biosphere of this other planet).

Inasmuch as neo-gathering would develop on an intensive basis, as is true of production as well, the need arises for bringing social processes of intensification together with processes of an intensive type (nonlinear) in nature, so that they would form a single socionatural system of development (see "Intensifikatsiya nauki i proizvodstva: problemy metodologii" [Intensification of Science and Production: Problems of Methodology], Kishinev, 1987, pp 23-28).

We can already predict a number of the traits by which neo-gathering would be characterized. It will begin developing on an intensive basis in the presence of highly developed productive forces and science, with production dominating in the interaction between society and nature. In distinction from its primitive form, it should be devoid of the pluralism of ecological strategies of the past, and of its focus only on biologically-based gathering: Trigger effects and triggering causality of lower forms of the motion of matter will be widely employed in economic activity, especially beyond the planet. In distinction from primitive gathering, effective utilization of natural forces and natural factors will be characterized by full information support and by optimum control within the framework of the overall process of social development and intensification.

While ecologization of production entails increasingly greater isolation from the environment, and especially from the biosphere (there is even thought of a transition to the principle of autotrophic function), neo-gathering presupposes organic incorporation of social processes into natural ones, and vice versa. Clearly such "incorporation" would be possible only with an exhaustive knowledge of the laws of socio- and bioecology, since social ecological chains would have to be a continuation of biological chains, and thus a gigantic closed ecocycle would have to be realized.

While in carrying out the neolithic revolution man fundamentally altered the economic and ecological principles of activity which prevailed in the gathering era, today, as history assumes a new orbit, neolithic principles once again require negation. This negation must be such that everything useful that had been typical of these principles would be retained. But they must be fundamentally reexamined from the ecological standpoint, as principles which do not promote coevolutionary development. The neolithic revolution is by its essence a socioeconomic revolution, in the same way that the acceleration which will be imparted to mankind's historical progress is socioeconomic. Mankind's survival and acceleration of its progress at the end of the Paleolithic epoch required transition to new principles of mutual relations with nature, which we labeled neolithic. However, rather than accelerating socioeconomic development, today they are decelerating it, acting as ecological "brakes."

While the transition to neolithic principles occurred spontaneously, their rejection must be fully conscious. "In the immediate future," wrote V. I. Vernadskiy, "scientists face unprecedented tasks concerned with conscious direction of the noosphere's organization..." (Vernadskiy, V. I., "Nauchnaya mysl kak planetnoye yavleniye" [Scientific Thought as a Planetary Phenomenon], Moscow, 1977, p 36). Carrying out unified socioeconomic and ecological perestroyka, we must transform neolithic principles into the principles of comprehensive intensification and ecologization of all human activity. Moreover this must be done on the basis of wide introduction of the elements of information science into society, and intensification of rational control within the framework of the infosphere being created (see Ursul, A. D., "Development of Information Science and Introduction of the Elements of Information Science into Society," NAUCHNO-TEKHNICHESKAYA INFORMATSIIYA, Series 1, No 1, 1989).

In conclusion we will at briefly examine the prospects associated with development of outer space. The fact that the period from the culmination of the October Revolution to the opening of the space age has only been four decades has already been noted in the literature devoted to the social and philosophical problems of cosmonautics. Realization of a communist future will be inseparably associated with extensive development of mankind's activities in space. In this connection we will be interested in the ecological strategy of space-age civilization and in the role of cosmonautics in solving environment problems on earth.

Now that cosmonautics has fully compensated for the outlays on its development, and produced a significant national economic impact, there are few who doubt the economic feasibility of its development. The only skepticism among ecologists concerns itself with its relationship to environmental problems. There are even opponents of extensive development of outer space, and

especially its industrialization, feeling that this would significantly worsen the ecological situation on earth and in space.

From my point of view such apprehensions would have grounds only in the event that traditional, nonecologized production is extended beyond the planet. Transition of all production in the future to closed ecocycles and its "incorporation" into natural cosmic processes would make it possible to fundamentally reduce pollution of both the planetary and the space environment. In general, the removal of industry into space on a major scale would significantly reduce anthropogenic pressure upon the biosphere, and it is an important step in the transition to the intensive-coevolutional path of development. It is precisely in space, where limits inherent to the biosphere and a confined planet are removed, that the trend toward free and unlimited development of productive forces will enjoy its fullest development (see Marks, K. and Engels, F., "Soch.," Vol 46, Part 1, pp 311-312; Vol 23, p 771). Industrialization of space in the future in the maximally ecologized variant would hardly transform man from the ruinator of the planet to the destructor of space; on the contrary it would help preserve the planet as the cradle of life and reason, inasmuch as the trajectory of further acceleration of the development of production would be directed into outer space.

When we consider the more remote future, development of space may be of significant assistance in protecting the biosphere and mankind from possible planetary and cosmic catastrophes—something K. E. Tsiolkovskiy considered earlier. After all, the planet is exposed to the real threat of various sorts of cosmic cataclysms, and therefore the point of view that life and reason can and even must be permanently tied to Earth contradicts the highest principle of human existence—the principle of survival and preservation of the human race (a thorough analysis of possible cosmic threats was recently made by K. Kh. Khayrullin in the collective monograph "Perspektivy nauchnogo poznaniya. Filosofskiye ocherki o novykh tendentsiyakh sovremennoy nauki" [The Prospects of Scientific Cognition. Philosophical Essays on New Trends of Modern Science], Kazan, 1988, pp 161-165).

Here is how the well known Soviet scientist M. I. Budyko assesses the prospects for preservation of life on the planet: "When we consider the question as to the stability of the Earth's biosphere, the impression is created that this stability is not very great, and that the probability of existence of life on a planet like Earth over a period of billions of years may be very small. Relatively small fluctuations in solar radiation and not very large changes in volcanic activity would obviously be sufficient to destroy most organisms or all life on Earth.... Thus for example, large asteroids falling to Earth may create changes in the state of the biosphere that take it beyond the limits within which it can sustain life" (Budyko, M. I., "Evolyutsiya biosfery" [Evolution of the Biosphere], Leningrad, 1984, pp 450-451).

As the founder of theoretical cosmonautics presupposed, development of space will significantly increase the ecological security of further development of life and civilization. This is why it is important to switch space activities to the path of nuclear-free and ecologically safe development and, as we go on to the new, intensive-coevolutional means of interaction with nature, to ensure preservation of life and development of civilization, both of which appeared for the first time on planet Earth. As was emphasized at the 27th CPSU Congress, our social strategy, our strategy of life, must be oriented "such that people would be careful of the planet, the sky and outer space, and develop it as new settlers of a *peaceful* civilization, having rid life of nuclear nightmares and fully emancipated, for the purposes of creation, and only creation, all of the better qualities of Man, that unique inhabitant of the Universe" ("Materialy XXVII syezda KPSS," p 97).

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**Estonian People's Front Publishes Thesis on Deputy Elections**

18001020a Tallinn MOLODEZH ESTONII in Russian  
18 Mar 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Theses of the Estonian People's Front on Elections of USSR Peoples Deputies"]

[Text] 1. Elections to the supreme government organ of the USSR are proceeding in the presence of a deepening crisis in administrative socialism. Restructuring in the Soviet Union is assuming the nature of a national liberation movement in many of the union republics. The agenda calls for significantly changing property and government relations, exercising the right of the people for self-determination, and creating new democratic institutions on the basis of people's movements.

The disposition of social forces has become clear, and national-democratic, liberal and big power-conservative currents have made themselves known. All of the Soviet Union's democratic society awaits consistency and initiative from Estonia's deputies in Moscow in radical continuation of the course toward renewal. But the Estonian people are not at all indifferent as to whether champions of the sovereignty of the republic or proponents of big-power interests are elected in Moscow. Recognizing these expectations, the Estonian People's Front proposes the election slogan "We Will Block Conservatives From the Road to Moscow!"

2. The People's Front supports implementation of the principles of national self-determination. Making constitutional sovereignty and the right to self-determination a reality for all peoples living in the USSR is the foremost objective of the supreme government organ of the USSR to be elected. Recognizing its own statehood to be the

highest form of self-determination of each nation, the People's Front proposes the slogan: "To Independence Through the IME [Self-Managing Estonia]!"

The People's Front believes that the primary objective of deputies from Estonia in the USSR Supreme Soviet is to defend the right of the Estonian SSR to be the sovereign master of its land, natural resources and national wealth, to itself select the ways of the most sensible use of its productive forces, to enact its own laws and to develop independent ties with other union republics and foreign countries. The decisions made by the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet on 16 November should be recognized and implemented in their entirety. The procedures for registering and cancelling all-union legislative acts and decisions must be developed and implemented without delay.

3. Being a democratic movement, the People's Front demands repeal of the party's constitutional monopoly over power, and creation of constitutional guarantees of real democracy and pluralism in all of the Soviet Union. A significant step toward this should be made in the elections to the ESSR Supreme Soviet and local soviets. The Estonian SSR's new election law should establish the equal right of all political forces to be represented in government organs. The People's Front believes tolerance and openness to different viewpoints and definitions of social development to be a prerequisite of the development of political pluralism. All of Estonia's political forces must make an equal effort to learn to recognize the victories and successes of each other, and their own shortcomings and mistakes in political activity. Only the people have the right to decide, by way of democratic elections, who is to defend their real interests, and to provide a mandate for the society's administration. Transformation of the organs of power into a truly popular government is a significant prerequisite of meeting the aspirations for sovereignty.

4. In order to meet Estonia's aspirations for sovereignty and implement a democratic election law, the People's Front feels it necessary to establish Estonian SSR citizenship. Citizenship should keep those who do not feel their destiny to be tied to that of Estonia out of the republic's government organs, and instill a feeling of confidence in us for the future of our land. In defining citizenship, the People's Front believes that the most important principle is that citizenship will be offered predominantly on the basis of birth and roots, and that Estonia is the historic home of all Estonians, irrespective of their present domicile. To those who entered Estonia after disappearance of Estonia as an independent state, assumption of citizenship in Estonia is an act of voluntary choice, by which they recognize the sovereignty of Estonia and their readiness as citizens of Estonia to bear responsibility and additional obligations in behalf of the future of sovereign Estonia. Residents of the Estonian SSR who had come to Estonia from other union republics should be viewed as citizens of these union republics until their petition for Estonian citizenship is adopted.

When they are accepted for Estonian citizenship, the principle of voluntary citizenship must be adhered to strictly, and their relationship to Estonia must be accounted for (permanence of settlement, knowledge of language and culture and so on). All residents of the Estonian SSR, with the exception of citizens of foreign countries and persons without citizenship, are equal citizens of the USSR; they are guaranteed all rights foreseen by legislation of the USSR, as well as social guarantees.

5. The People's Front is working to reveal the historical truth as to the criminal domestic and foreign policy of the Stalinist regime, together with all ensuing criminal and state-legal consequences.

Stalinist repressions must be recognized to be crimes against mankind in their full volume. Those who planned and carried them out must be revealed and punished by the courts. Without complete political and ideological purification, it will be impossible to prevent recurrences of Stalinism, which continue to hold back the processes of Soviet society's renewal.

The Soviet Union must recognize the existence of the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact and the secret protocol attached to it concerning the deal made between the Stalinist and fascist governments with the purpose of attaining their big-power goals at the expense of third states and peoples. On this basis, the annexation of the Baltic states to the Soviet Union should be interpreted as a result of this annexation agreement. The People's Front supports the demand to annul the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact (together with the secret protocol) and to subsequently create new treaty relations between the Baltic republics and the Soviet Union, ones which would be based fully on the right of the peoples of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania to self-determination, and account for equal, independent economic and political interests of both parties to the treaty.

The People's Front is convinced that only recognition of this historical truth and compensation for historical injustice to the Estonian people can create a firm foundation for equal and mutually respectful relations among all ethnic groups residing in Estonia.

6. The People's Front believes its highest goal to be free and prosperous life for all citizens of the Estonian SSR in sovereign Estonia, and preservation of Estonian language and culture for future generations of Estonian people. The time has come once again to create the foundation for the economic and political life of a free and prosperous Estonian state, and for restoration of a feeling of confidence in the future. To achieve this feeling of confidence, it is very important for all of us to support the Soviet Union's transformation from a totalitarian power into a democratic association of civilized peoples.

**Estonian Komsomol Leaders Interviewed on  
Intermovement**  
18001020b Tallinn MOLODEZH ESTONII in Russian  
14 Mar 89 p 1

[Interview with Estonian Komsomol Central Committee Second Secretary Nikolay Sharov and Secretary Ayvar Rauam on 10 March in the Estonian Komsomol Central Committee recorded by I. Ristmyagi: "Rocks in the Water Below"]

[Text] Journalists of republic Komsomol newspapers met with Estonian Komsomol Central Committee Second Secretary Nikolay Sharov and Secretary Ayvar Rauam on 10 March in the Estonian Komsomol Central Committee. The recent congress of the republic's Intermovement was discussed.

[Question] The republic's Intermovement proclaimed its existence in summer of the past year, when informal public associations were already operating actively. Within this time period—from July to March—the movement took on final form and developed its program and charter. We all followed the development of events, and both of you, secretaries of the republic's Komsomol Central Committee, were present at the congress. What do you see as the causes for the advent of the Intermovement in the republic, and are there grounds, from your point of view, for the concern over the political situation which was voiced in the statements of the delegates?

[N. Sharov] I think that Intermovement came into being because of activation of political life. The processes occurring in this sphere leave few indifferent to them, but they are evaluated in different ways. Hence the wide spectrum of public movements. Atmospheric pressure began to rise on our political barometer with the joint plenum of creative unions and with the advent of the People's Front. Acute, vitally important questions concerning the national republic's further development were placed on the agenda. The Russian-speaking population found itself excluded from active political processes, chiefly due to the language barrier. The issues raised by the People's Front and the subsequent legislative acts associated with symbolism, language and so on were primarily nationalistic in nature. It was entirely natural that the attitude toward them was variable as well—after all, each sees both the status quo and the future in his own way depending on his own experience, his own convictions and his own ideas. Moreover we cannot reject the fact that broad discussion of the proceedings of the joint plenum of creative unions and the advent of the People's Front were accompanied by what we might call an outburst of emotions, in which the Russian-speaking population felt uncomfortable. It was as a unique sort of defensive reaction, as a desire to form and express its own attitude toward what was happening, that Intermovement, which offered an alternative program, was born.

[A. Rauam] The outburst of political activity among Estonians and the growing popularity of the People's Front simply could not but elicit the same sort of activity among the Russian-speaking population. However, we have not been able to transmit all of the positive things that had been done in the last few months to all of our co-citizens in their entirety. This is why many people received a distorted impression of what was happening. We were unable to explain that things will be good for everyone in the future Estonia which we are now building. An instinct of self-preservation was activated due to lack of information: After all, if a person does not understand something, and is afraid of it, he attacks it. This is why Intermovement came into being at the other pole of social life.

[Question] If we forget for the moment the daily practices of the People's Front and Intermovement and read their program documents impassionately, we could find many things in them in common presupposing unification of effort and consolidation. So where does this hostility, this sharp conflict originate?

[N. Sharov] I already said that the joint plenum of creative unions touched upon the sorest points of national self-rebirth and further development of the republic. In order that many things could be understood and accepted, stereotypes must be abandoned, and this is not always easy to do. And the proposals, which were already radical as they stood, were taken to an extreme by some adherents of new ideas, which immediately evoked an antagonistic attitude toward them. To be honest, many problems which we have begun solving affect the interests of the nonindigenous population, and therefore elicit its concern. Some variants of republic cost accounting affect the destiny of union enterprises, the demands for re-emigration make many apprehensive about their future, and the Language Law has cut short the careers of some people. That is, the reforms of economic and social life have affected everyone. We must get used to them, and recognize their existence, and ultimately we must believe in them. This is why I favor discussion. Our life as it is today demonstrates its productivity. During it, extreme variants are pruned away, and common sense takes the high ground.

[Question] The last two weeks of our republic's political life have been characterized by acute debates and numerous rallies and meetings. Judging from everything, the Intermovement congress, which was convened with the purpose of discussing fundamental documents, was unable to avoid acquiring the characteristics of a rally. The discussion involved not so much the program and the charter as the recent events.

[N. Sharov] It seems to me that not only the recent, variously perceived events but also our general lack of experience in conducting debates and discussions imparted rally characteristics to the congress. I also feel that fully constructive agreements are reached at certain stages of a problem's discussion. But after that, when

these problems are debated in rallies, emotions assume the upper hand, they begin to exert their influence, and suppress logic, tolerance and the readiness to at least account for another opinion, if not share it. I am quite certain that the sooner we learn to debate, the faster we will move restructuring forward.

[A. Rauam] I would also add the following impression which was carried away from the discussion at the congress: The people who are setting the tone in Intermovement have themselves not become accustomed to debate. This is fully explainable, since after all, the people who direct such meetings are already set in their ways, sometimes possessing considerable experience in party-political work. Experience from the past, when there was no debate of any kind at all, when there was one officially proclaimed truth, and there was nothing to debate.

[Question] Judging from the report of the mandate commission, only an insignificant percentage of the congress delegates were Komsomol members and young people. How do you explain this?

[N. Sharov] I would explain this by two causes. First, the general passiveness of the young. Second, what Ayvar Rauam spoke of, the stereotypic thinking that has made its imprint on our political debates. Just in view of their age alone, young people are constrained to a much lesser degree by stereotypes, and they are more prone to analysis, deliberation and constructive dialogue. I often have dealings with young people in my work, and believe me, I have hardly ever heard them express the extreme kinds of assessments of what is happening as those voiced in the congress.

[A. Rauam] I agree with Nikolay. It seems to me that the majority of Russian-speaking young people do not associate themselves with Intermovement because they are not dogmatic in their evaluation of restructuring of ethnic relations.

[N. Sharov] I would like to say something in passing about established ideas. Those who are around twenty today have nothing yet that they need to free themselves of—their ideas are still forming. But when it comes to older folks, their convictions were shaped in a time when our social practice was flawed, and the ideas of socialism and communism were devalued. They have no faith in ideals, and they could hardly support the appeals of Intermovement to preserve these same ideals in their initial purity. What I would say is occurring is materialization of spiritual values; an apartment, clothing and freedom from want are becoming the most important. We have not yet proposed any new ideals, new spiritual values to the young, at the same time that young people will not fight for socialism in the definition offered of it by Intermovement. Some individual proposals of Intermovement are another matter—removal of residency

restrictions on assistance to young families for example. From what I understand, Russian-speaking young people support Intermovement in this regard.

I would also like to talk about what distressed me the most about the Intermovement congress. Youth problems were hardly examined at all in any of the statements; it was as if they did not exist at all, as if no one is troubled by them. This was distressing, but it was not surprising, inasmuch as we still encounter people who express an opinion such as this: What kind of youth problems are you dreaming up? We were able to raise our own children, and earn our own bread, and they will be able to do the same, they will be all right. We could hardly count on an impact from something into which we invest nothing, in the same way that we could hardly count on the enthusiasm and consciousness of young people if we do not offer them assistance, if we do not satisfy their vital interests.

[Question] Speaking on Estonian television last week, V. Vyalyas suggested this idea: We are traveling an untraveled road, and it is difficult to predict all of the rocks in the water below, upon which we might stumble. Did the Intermovement congress suggest any of these rocks to you?

[A. Rauam] Young people are our main problem. Whom will they follow, will they understand what is happening in the republic—and for its own good at that? And there is something that I came to understand: We can't build policy with regard for only one portion of the population. As a rule, the other half would disapprove. There needs to be a pluralism of opinions, speaking the language of the day there needs to be consensus. And when we build policy, we need to account for differences in historical, psychological and national perception of particular proposals and reforms. We cannot use a sledgehammer, blindly—that is not the way to reach understanding. But on the other hand, much has already been done, and in no way can we allow all of these gains to be reversed.

[N. Sharov] In my opinion the congress revealed many rocks in the water and gave all of us a reason to ponder not only what the response to our words might be, but also how pernicious a discrepancy between word and deed is. Several times in the last few months we debated cultural autonomy. This idea was taken to an extreme at the congress, to the level of the absurd—creation of an autonomous territory in northeastern Estonia and in Tallinn. I concede that this proposal was dictated not so much by a real desire for such autonomy as by a desire to silence the cheers of people who are experiencing psychological discomfort in connection with the rigid requirements of the Language Law and other legislation or proposals, as I mentioned earlier. But let's think about it. We talk a lot about developing foreign-language cultures, but so far we have done little to support it. The platform offered by Igor Shepelevich, director of the Plant imeni Kh. Pegelman, seemed very constructive to me in this regard. The OSTK [not further identified]

developed a school aid program, and it has accepted the responsibility for higher technical and humanitarian education of Russian-speaking young people—that is, for preparing young administrators from the Russian-speaking intelligentsia. Let's not beat around the bush: It is much easier for Estonian children to receive such an education in an ethnic republic.

I would like to return once again to the idea that many of our forums are degenerating into rallies, or more precisely, to the danger this harbors. Today, you see, both the People's Front and Intermovement are creating a certain background in the republic, and influencing our perception of the world. I remember what a certain woman from Tartu said at the Intermovement congress. Her words were apropos: Let's think about our children, we can't have youngsters fighting with their peers simply because the latter speak a different language.

There is one thing all of us will have to come to understand, no matter what movement we sympathize with: We can move forward and develop only in union—such is the dictate of history. And the young child who senses our passion-charged social background, and to whom our world perception is transmitted, must not grow up to be a nationalist or a chauvinist. He should become a Human Being, should he not?

**Estonian Working Group on Glasnost Meets**  
18001145 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIA in Russian  
30 Apr 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "In the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Working Group on Questions of Glasnost"]

[Text] A meeting took place of a working group of the Presidium of the EsSSR Supreme Soviet on questions of glasnost in the activities of the organs of state power and administration. Attention was chiefly devoted this time to the problems of international postal and telephone service. Indeed it is not a secret to anyone that people are expressing well-founded dissatisfaction with letters moving at a snail's pace, damaged or lost packages, and other such problems. A. Litvinov, member of the EsSSR Collegium of the Ministry of Communications and chief of the Main Administration of Postal Service and Dissemination of Printed Material, provided comprehensive and frank information. It was clear that the difficulties and lack of coordination spring directly from excessive centralization. Because agreements with other countries are concluded by the USSR Ministry of Communications, all or almost all service now passes through Moscow. Almost all—because, as a result of the vigorous efforts of the republic's ministry, the process has recently been simplified somewhat. For instance, beginning 1 April the customhouse will look over mail to Estonia from Finland and Sweden in Tallinn. Previously in Moscow when the wrappings were found disturbed the mail was not stamped "Arrived in damaged condition," making it difficult to establish where—in the country of

origin or upon receipt—it was damaged. A promise was also made to provide more telephone lines. Nonetheless the situation will improve substantially only with the introduction of republic economic accountability; in the meantime it is necessary to begin immediate development of a material base of communications (a republic center for the processing of mail, etc.).

An exchange of opinions followed, in the course of which the members of the working group expressed their points of view. It was judged that the public should be informed in detail about all the issues and the designated measures on a television broadcast in the immediate future. The working group considered it necessary to pose several key questions to the Presidium of the EsSSR Supreme Soviet and the republic's administration. It is necessary to ensure that all mail addressed to the EsSSR arrives and undergoes processing in the republic. The possibility should also be considered of creating alongside the postal service alternative forms, for example, corresponding to small firms. There are also problems of glasnost connected with the archives. L. Laks, chief of the Main Archives Administration, reported that measures have been taken to free the archives from rampant overcentralization. A goal has been set to create the republic's own archive fund. Work has been progressing since the beginning of the year on a draft law on archives. The bill is already on its third draft and will soon be presented for discussion to specialists at the republic's Academy of Sciences, Tallinn State University [TGU], and the EsSSR Ministry of Justice.

The working group unanimously came to the conclusion that it is necessary to finish drafting the law on archives as quickly as possible. It was judged necessary to involve in that work several members of the group of the Presidium of the EsSSR Supreme Soviet on questions of glasnost. It is also necessary to expedite development of a draft law on information. It was emphasized that the public must without fail be involved in the drafting of all laws.

**LaSSR Creative Unions' Yanis Peters on Human, Civil Rights in Republic**  
18000793 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian  
28 Mar 89 p 2

[Interview with Yanis Peters, chairman of the Council on Culture of the Creative Unions of Latvia, by LATINFORM correspondent V. Steshenko: "It Belongs to Each Citizen"]

[Text] On 30-31 March an expanded joint plenum of the boards of the creative unions of the republic will meet in the House of Political Education of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee. "The Vienna Conference. Human rights and the rights of nationalities in Latvia" are the subjects on the agenda. LATINFORM correspondent, V. Steshenko, met with Yanis Peters, the chairman of the cultural council of Latvia's creative unions.

[Correspondent] The impressions made by last year's expanded plenum of the board of the Writers' Union are still fresh in our memories. Indeed, this plenum could be used to render an account of the "hot summer of 88." On the one hand, it stimulated the processes of perestroika, on the other, it was the source of many problems between individual groups within Latvia's population. Nor did the announcement of a new plenum of the council that you head go unnoticed. And again, some anticipate it with the hope of hearing revolutionary new ideas, while others wait fearfully, wondering what the intelligentsia will think up next and what they want now.

[Ya. Peters] First of all we want to contribute our mite to the healing of the political situation in the republic, to the healing of international relationships.

We want to emphasize the idea that all the documents, all the agreements that are signed by our government and the minister of foreign affairs must become the property of every citizen of the Soviet Union, and in this case of Soviet Latvia, and of every ethnic group. It is unacceptable for access to the attainments of foreign policy to be limited to elite circles and for such documents to be available only in the center of the country, in the worst case only in the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

For example, plans call for an exchange of people and labor collectives, and of economic, cultural, and ecological ideas. [The way things stand now] it would be possible, let's say, for a single class from Moscow to be sent to Washington, after which the authorities would consider that the agreement had been fulfilled. Of course, Moscow has the right to participate in the exchange. But Vilnius, Klaipeda, Liepaya, Valmiyera, and Riga, for example, have the same right.

We also want to direct the attention of our government and legislators to the fact that all international agreements must be reflected in the Soviet internal legislation. The obligations which we take on before all of humanity must become our obligation before each and every Soviet person. This is the highest order goal of the plenum.

[Correspondent] And what will be the major directions this work will take?

[Ya. Peters] While the peoples' interest in domestic problems has been roused, this cannot be said of international political processes. When I begin to speak about the Vienna Conference, people don't immediately understand what I am getting at, and often react indifferently, "That's right, something or other did happen in Vienna..."

To my mind, Vienna remains the turning point in international relations. We signed a very humane document and it is very important that [now] each ordinary citizen can feel that he is participating in civilization at

its [highest] contemporary level. We are now working on problems such as how to define the status of a citizen or a language, how to solve the problems of self-financing and migration, and on the drafting of a new Constitution. Do our approaches correspond to the international rights of man? We will consider these issues, along with our jurists and economists, as well as guests from Moscow Vilnius, Tartu, and Tallinn, and from abroad.

In my opinion, [discussion at] the plenum will move in two directions: the direction of human rights and the direction of the rights of national (ethnic) groups.

[Correspondent] After last year's plenum, you were accused of being a bunch of members of the creative intelligentsia, who, without understanding, for example, economics, were interfering in something that was not their business, giving rise to incompetent resolutions, etc. Now you people are talking about international (interethnic) rights, in which, as far as I know, your organization has no world-famous experts. Aren't you afraid that these accusations will be made again?

[Ya. Peters] When last year's plenum was held, we did not yet have a Union of Scholars; now one has been established and made part of the cultural council.

At the upcoming plenum, the Council of Scholar will bear the whole weight of the burden on their shoulders. All the main reports will be given by professors and Ph.D.'s. Doctor Yu.Boyars will give a major paper. Academician A. Kalninysh will speak on economics. Professor Ya. Plotniyeks will tell us about the draft of the new Constitution for Latvia. And, of course, participants will include writers, artists, journalists, architects, diplomats, and guests from other republics and countries: Yu. Chernichenko, M. Bronshtein, A. Vertinskiy, N. Katerli, P. Kurman, T. fon Vegezak, D. Leber, and others.

Moreover, I feel strongly that each writer, publicist, and journalist has the right to express his thoughts as a citizen on the processes that are occurring. And if he is not qualified to give recommendations, then he is still qualified to point out the problem to the government, party, and society as a whole.

Let me note that during this year we have become intellectually richer, we too have accrued experience.

[Correspondent] Will you be considering some sort of documents?

[Ya. Peters] We will pass a declaration. Not as extensive as the resolution last year, but concerning very important issues in our life today.

[Correspondent] Do you foresee participation in the plenum only by members of the boards of the creative union and guests from outside the republic? After all, the problems, as you define them, are relevant to virtually all the citizens of Latvia.

[Ya. Peters] Indeed, sometimes we are reproached for "playing to a single goal post." I hope that we will succeed in avoiding this. We have invited people who can speak, for example, on the rights of ethnic minorities or national groups in the republic to participate in the discussion and to deliver supplementary papers. After all, the summary document at the Vienna Conference had a great deal to say about the rights of minorities in each territory. The clergy has been invited to speak about the state of religious faiths and societies.

[Correspondent] Since we are speaking about reproaches, we can also note the fact that recently discussions of the most diverse documents contain appeals to human rights and even accusations of their violation. We will not answer this accusation here today. But will the plenum be able to give this answer?

[Ya. Peters] Let me say this. Even if there are such points in the directives of the people's movement (and I do not want to claim that there are no such errors), then let us not forget another truth: much that is wrong has existed and continues to exist on the part of the state. In The spirit and even the letter of Vyshinskiy's jurisprudence is still alive. Thus, let us meet together and take at least one step forward toward determining to what degree our current behavior, our proposals, and our new draft laws are consistent with international human rights. We want to determine this without any claims to ultimate truth. In the country that has known the terror of Stalinism the legislation has not yet all been developed, that is a very difficult thing to accomplish.

I acknowledge that there are errors. We are holding the plenum precisely because we truly wish to help our whole society.

[Correspondent] If last year's plenum was basically a "domestic" discussion, then now our problems are bound up with international issues.

[Ya. Peters] Latvia is entering the international arena. Our plenum also should facilitate the growth of Soviet prestige through the very nature of the issues discussed: how we will live in the international context and participate in the international process. By the way, As I have already said, eminent specialists from Sweden and FRG will participate in our plenum.

Our country cannot become a state based on the rule of law, without considering international standards for human rights. We hope to add if only a single brick to the building of the future law-governed state. And if we succeed in doing this at the plenum, we will be very happy. I fervently entreat the people of all nationalities to understand us correctly this time: we want only good for each and every citizen of Latvia.

Let us talk. The more talk there is without ultimatums, the better.

[Correspondent] I wish you success in the difficult task you have ahead of you. Thank you for the interview.

**Deputy Premier on Language Law Implementation**  
18001073 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian  
4 May 89 pp 1, 4

[Interview with L. L. Bartkevich, deputy chairman of the LaSSR Council of Ministers, by LATINFORM correspondent Sergey Lyalyushkin: "The Law on Languages—Material Provisions"]

[Text] In a short time the draft law on languages will acquire legal force. How perfected and viable the law is, time will tell. Today it would certainly be interesting to know how the work of establishing the necessary material base for implementing the new law is progressing. This is the subject of a conversation between LATINFORM correspondent Sergey Lyalyushkin and L. L. Bartkevich, deputy chairman of the LaSSR Council of Ministers.

[Correspondent] Leonard Leopoldovich, there was a brief announcement in the press recently that meetings had been held in the Republic Council of Ministers with leaders of a majority of ministries, departments, and enterprises, as well as with cooperative society members, on matters related to implementing the Law on Languages. Could you tell us about these meetings in more detail?

[L. L. Bartkevich] We had our first meeting with ministries and departments dealing with public services. Judging by the information made available to us in the course of discussion, the situation in these collectives as a whole is not as critical as some people have tried to suggest. The minister of consumer services, for example, declared that his branch had been engaged in training personnel, as required by the pending law, for quite a long time. A broad network for language training has been organized in the branch, and more than 60 study groups have been established. Last year approximately 1,500 persons received training, and about another thousand persons since the start of the year. As a result a majority of the workers, especially those who work in direct contact with the people, know two languages.

Or take the Ministry of Social Security. There 91 percent of all workers have a working knowledge of Latvian. They have a particular problem—how to translate into Latvian the card files of the computer center. This, of course, will require a considerable amount of time and manpower.

The situation is somewhat different in the Ministry of Trade. It has about 60,000 workers, of which approximately 17,000 cannot speak Latvian. Of the number directly engaged in service activities, there are approximately 6,000 who do not know the language. Meanwhile, there are right now about 3,500 persons in the branch who are studying the language.

In the republic Ministry of Public Health, workers with a knowledge of Latvian have taken it upon themselves to help teach the language to those who do not know it. A broad, ramified network of language instruction has been established. The ministry collective has assumed the task of teaching the language to all workers in the next two years.

The situation is worse in the ministries of internal affairs and municipal services, for example. But even there, I think, it is possible to fully make up for mistakes—that, at least, is the hope.

A more difficult discussion took place with the directors of the leading enterprises of industry, construction, transport, and power engineering in Riga. There, on the whole, they deal a good deal more with people who speak Russian. In this connection, many of the speakers called our attention to the fact that language study and mastering the basics of conversation should be carried out gradually, calmly, and without any constraint or pressure. We fully support this view.

It was asserted that in a specific plant situation, the question of what language was to be used for internal office work should be decided directly by the soviet of the workers' collective without the participation of the republic Council of Ministers. This makes sense, too, for the technical and technological documentation as well as various forms of instruction will continue to circulate in the language that is in use at the present time. At this point, in my view, no difficulties should be created artificially. Orders of a ministry or decisions of a ministry collegium involved in plant management will be sent in the Latvian language. Under the terms of the draft law, of course, the office work and record keeping of republic executive and administrative bodies will be in the state language. Accordingly, the need arises for typists and translators. But this problem, we understand, is being fully taken care of.

[Correspondent] What kind of concerns were voiced by enterprise managers?

[L. L. Bartkevich] They asked, for example, how we should deal with newly arrived specialists, who are unfamiliar with Latvian, and who are not being trained today in the republic. How? It goes without saying, by using our common sense. Much was also said about we should treat the nomination of some sort of specialist to elective office if he does not know the second language. Difficulties, of course, are bound to arise in this respect. But this is not a problem to be solved today. I think that in the course of the next three years any republic resident who exhibits the desire and persistence, along with an awareness of the necessity to speak Latvian, will find the time to master it to a sufficient extent. Unquestionably, the effort to learn the language should come from people's sense of awareness and not from coercion. In this

connection, I repeat, any form of pressure on either side of the issue, either on the part of the administration or other social organizations, is not to be condoned.

We had an interesting meeting with the publishers. Of course, for them much depends on provisions made for the material and technical base. A fair amount has already been done. The textbook "let's Learn Latvian" has already been published with 100,000 copies; a similar amount is due to be published in a matter of days, and once again in July. In the second quarter, the Latvian CP Central Committee Publishing House is scheduled to publish a Latvian-Russian phrase book, and in the fourth quarter a Latvian-Russian dictionary. In addition, there are plans to publish terminological glossaries for workers in agriculture, motor transport, power engineering, the food industry, and medicine. In early 1990 the second section of "Let's Learn Latvian" will be published, and subsequently a third section. Next year, too, an illustrated textbook for children of preschool age will be readied for publication.

The Riga Film Studio is ready to make available for rent in sufficient quantity videocassette recordings of the television series "Let's Study Together." At the present time the first cassettes, containing three hours of program instruction, have arrived in the video rental outlets in Riga, Liepaya, Jurmala, and Ventspils. Gramophone records will be made available this year for students in general education schools who are studying Latvian. The republic government also intends to obtain a batch of imported tape-recording cassettes, so that recorded study programs may be made available in quantity for the 1990-1991 school year.

On 10 April Latvian Television launched the regular series of programs called "Let's Study Together," offering an intensive course of instruction in Latvian. In the first six months, 12 programs of this series will be presented, and an equal number will be presented in the second six months. In addition, a regular series of television broadcasts in Russian will begin. Moreover, public opinion will be surveyed to find out how the work is going, whether this effort is sufficient, etc.

[Correspondent] What can you say about the outcome of meetings with members of the cooperatives?

[L. L. Bartkevich] We had quite an interesting discussion with the leaders of six cooperatives providing instruction in Latvian. These were Lingva, Disput, Kultura, Vernisazh, Modus, and Domas. Specialists of Domas, incidentally, have worked out a course of intensive independent study based on a method used by V. I. Lenin in studying European languages. The leaders of these cooperatives declared that their collectives can double the volume of their work. You will agree, this is a big help.

[Correspondent] There is currently a shortage of typewriters in the republic with Latvian type. How is this problem being dealt with?

[L. L. Bartkevich] An agreement has recently been reached with a number of enterprises in the country to supply Latvian type in sufficient volume to fully meet republic demand. Typewriters now in use will be re-equipped with this type face.

The situation is more complicated with respect to computers. Here, it appears, we should act on the grounds of expediency. When computers are found to be absolutely necessary, in ordering a computer system, we can stipulate software for Latvian text. In such cases, I think, the specialists will find it easier to read.

[Correspondent] As we were able to see for ourselves, they are actively at work in the republic ministries and departments on software programs to teach Latvian. Evidently, similar efforts are being made in republic cities. Which of the programs, in your view, might serve as a model for the others?

[L. L. Bartkevich] That of Daugavpils. Designed for the period 1989-1995, it is a comprehensive and interesting program in every respect. Basically, it provides for teacher training; instruction in Latvian at pre-school institutions for children, schools, and other educational institutions; language instruction in enterprises, institutions and municipal organizations; and, finally, cultivating interest in mastering Latvia through cultural and educational activities. There are also economic factors to be considered. In the opinion of the program's organizers, 1,770,000 rubles will be needed to put it into operation. But the main thing that I want to particularly emphasize is the necessity of paying more attention to the study of Latvian in pre-school institutions, professional and technical schools, technical training colleges, and VUZ's. If today we provide good preparation in every respect for the generation now growing up, then there will be no language problem in the future. From now on this problem is going to be addressed in an altogether different manner. Examinations will be introduced. The teaching staff will be increased. The wages paid to teachers will be raised, as will the standards required of persons responsible for this kind of work, independently of their status or rank. Then we may anticipate an entirely different result.

[Correspondent] Is it possible now to name an amount of money, if only approximately, necessary to fully provide the material supply base for implementing the Law on Languages?

[L. L. Bartkevich] That will become finally known when we draw up a republic-wide program on the basis of the regional programs. Those who criticize us today—with an obvious trace of ill-will, I might add—contend that the program could cost in the millions. We do not share this view. Republic financial and planning bodies assure us that this problem can be fully taken care of. For all expenses connected with furnishing the equipment necessary for one region or another, teacher training, or, let us say, creating the conditions necessary for providing

instruction in kindergartens, schools, or VUZ's, as provided for in the law, the state assumes responsibility. With respect to teaching at the enterprises, of course, it will be done primarily through the resources of the labor collectives. The enterprises, building organizations, kolkhozes, and sovkhozes have enough money for training and re-training skilled personnel. In addition, there are substantial funds for social needs. The study of the state language, one might suppose, is also a vital social task.

#### Bresis on Measures for Radical Improvement of Latvian Language Study

18001090 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian  
7 May 89 p 2

[LATINFORM report on speech by Deputy V. G. Bresis, chairman of Latvian SSR Council of Ministers, to the 11th Session of Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet, 11th Convocation: "Measures for Radical Improvement of Latvian Language Study by the Republic's Population"]

[Text] Dear deputies! On 6 October 1988, at a session of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet, the status of a state language was given to the Latvian language in the republic.

If one examines the situation more deeply, the status of the state language in the republic is not only a question of using languages, but also a fundamental problem involving the relations between Latvians and non-Latvians, a problem of the lawful sovereignty of the state, the resolution of which affects everyone living in Latvia, irrespective of his nationality.

Recognizing the real linguistic situation in the republic (namely, the fact that approximately three-fourths of the persons of other nationalities who live in Latvia are not fluent in Latvian), the government understands that the action that has been foreseen today—the enactment of the Law on Languages—in addition to resolving problems of a psychological nature will necessitate the resolution of a number of material-technical and other questions. Therefore I would like to acquaint you with the program that we have planned, which will provide for the gradual implementation of the Law on Languages in the republic. Some of the measures in the program have already been implemented in accordance with the 29 December 1988 decree of Latvian SSR Council of Ministers that was enacted and published in the press.

First I would like to discuss the real bilingualism that has been established by the Law on Languages, by which Latvian will be the state language and Russian will be a means of interethnic communication.

The mandatory knowledge of both languages will be necessary for workers in agencies of state authority and administration and workers in trade, public nutrition, public health, personal services, the municipal management, education, social security, the cultural sphere,

justice, and the protection of public order. That is, it will be necessary for officials and specialists for whom the knowledge of both languages is linked with the execution of their official duties. Our task is to guarantee the opportunity of learning Latvian for everyone who at this moment is insufficiently fluent in it.

When the draft of the Law on Languages was being discussed, doubts were expressed in a few places as to whether it would be possible in three years to provide Latvian language instruction at the required level for such a large number of persons who require the language to execute their official duties. Actually, how many workers are there who must assimilate the Latvian language, and how is the system of teaching them Latvian being formed?

We attempted to determine that at least approximately. In the public health system, for example, there are 16,000 workers; in trade and public nutrition, 11,000; and in the municipal economy and personal services sphere, 20,000. There are approximately 50,000 workers in the agencies of state and economic administration, administrators of various rank, and specialists at production enterprises. The total is approximately 100,000 persons. Of course that is a large number.

In order to teach that contingent, a broad network of courses has already been created at ministries, state committees, departments, and ispolkoms, and also at enterprises, institutions, and organizations. Courses are being organized for administrative workers at republic agencies of administration by the Administration of Affairs, Latvian SSR Council of Ministers and the Interbranch Refresher-Training Institute for Administrative Workers and Specialists; the instruction of workers in the apparatus of the ispolkoms of the local soviets is being organized by the rayon (city) ispolkoms; and the instruction of workers in the services sphere is being provided by the appropriate branch ministries, state committees, and departments.

Enterprises, institutions, and organizations are organizing Latvian language courses independently or with the aid of educational institutions, Minbyt [Ministry of Personal Services], and cooperatives. The persons who are working as instructors at the courses, for the most part, are Latvian language teachers, retired teachers, and students. We have a sufficient number of persons who are capable of teaching Latvian to adults. The republic has 2300 teachers of Latvian language and literature, and according to our computations approximately 2000 instructors will be needed for the Latvian language courses.

Minobrazovaniye [Ministry of Education] has been given the responsibility of determining, prior to 1 July 1989, the continent of teachers and instructors who agree to teach Latvian to the adult population.

I would like to use this opportunity to appeal once again to the patriotic feelings of Latvians and to call upon teachers, instructors, scientists, the creative intellectuals, retirees, students, and everyone else who is concerned about the fate of our language, to join in this large and important job.

Keeping in mind the fact that at the present time more than 50,000 persons are studying Latvian in special courses, I think that there is an opportunity to guarantee the instruction of the remaining individuals. What is needed first of all is good will.

A large amount of work in language instruction has been extended by the Ministry of Trade, Ministry of Personal Services for the Public, Ministry of Municipal Management, and Ministry of Public Health, by the State Fuel and Energy Committee, and other organizations. Of course, in some places the organizing of the courses and their actions have not been carried with the necessary self-interestedness or success, but nevertheless the beginning is very promising.

To assist those who are organizing Latvian language courses, Minobrazovaniye has developed curricula and a methodology.

At the present time several groups of authors are working on the creation of curricula and teaching aids to meet the students' needs. In the new school year the rayons and cities will be provided with at least two versions of the curricula and teaching aids.

I think that it is necessary to support the idea expressed by Yanis Peters, chairman of the board of the Writers Union, concerning the creation in Riga of a single methodological center of House of Languages with the necessary material-technical base for the real mastery of languages. This idea is also supported by other creative unions, the Ministry of Public Education, the Association of National-Cultural Societies, and the university.

Dear comrades! I would also like to discuss one aspect of guaranteeing the functioning of the state language—teaching aids dealing with language. Until recently there have been only a few of them, and they were not of sufficient quality. Therefore in March 1989 the first part of a Latvian self-study book—"Let's Study Latvian"—was published, in a printing run of 100,000 copies. As requested by readers, an additional 200,000 copies will be published at any moment. Early next year the second part of the book will appear in the same printing run. At the present time authors are working on the third part, which will be published in 1991.

In the current five-year plan and the 13th Five-Year Plan the publishing houses have planned a number of new, original publications dealing with the study of Latvian, including self-study books, phrase books, dictionaries, and grammars.

Nevertheless the government is searching for additional material-technical resources in order to increase considerably the production of Latvian language textbooks, teaching aids, and dictionaries.

I would like to discuss now the group of the republic's population on which the draft of the Law on Languages does not make any special demands.

The execution of their professional duties does not require the knowledge of two languages. But in order for them to feel more comfortable, both in the labor collective and in society, they must master Latvian on the level of the everyday colloquial language. This can be done at courses or by means of self-instruction.

I hope that the people who are mastering Latvian by the self-instruction method will be helped by their coworkers, labor collectives, and party, trade-union, Komsomol, and other public organizations.

Latvian Television's editorial office for popular-science broadcasts has also joined in the rendering of assistance to those who want to study Latvian. A new series of broadcasts, "Let's Learn Together," began on 10 April. The series employs modern intensive method of language instruction. Specialists from Latvian State University have been participating in the development of the methodology for these broadcasts.

The Latvian Kino Association, jointly with Latvian Television, has prepared a video cassette with the first three lessons in Latvian for beginners. Subsequently the entire course of instruction will be recorded on video cassettes. The production of these cassettes in quantity and their sale to the public are extremely important for linguistic self-instruction.

We shall provide simultaneous interpretation to allow people who have an insufficient fluency in the language to take active part in social life. Radio and television are already providing simultaneous interpretation for the most important sociopolitical broadcasts, with that interpretation being carried on radio's Second Program. Subsequently the most important informational broadcasts will also be simultaneously interpreted.

It must be admitted that the providing of auditoriums with equipment for simultaneous interpretation is still being carried out slowly. One frequently hears the excuses that there is a severe shortage of the necessary equipment. At the same time the Ministry of Communications, jointly with the VEF [State Electrical Equipment Plant] PO [Production Association], can satisfy right now the demand for portable equipment, and by 1991 the demand for permanently installed equipment for simultaneous interpretation.

At the present time we do not have enough highly skilled interpreters. According to computations that have been made, the republic needs approximately 200 specialists

in simultaneous interpretation. Beginning with the new school year, the training of interpreters from among the students will begin at Latvian State University to meet requests from institutions and organizations.

Comrade deputies!

It is well known that it is easiest to learn a language in childhood. Executing the decree of Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet, entitled "The Status of the Latvian Language," a governmental decision has approved the measures to create the prerequisites for studying and assimilating the Latvian language in children's preschool institutions, general educational schools, vocational-technical schools, and in secondary special and higher educational institutions.

There is no need to paraphrase the content of that document, since it has been published in the press. We shall dwell only on the most essential feature.

There already exists—and subsequently there will be an increase in their number—a quantity of lessons for studying Latvian in general educational schools and vocational-technical schools.

The quantity of lessons to study Latvian and Russian in both types of schools is being evened out.

However, the study of Latvian in schools with Russian as the language of instruction cannot be improved only by intensifying the instructional process. The total number of lessons a week is already quite large. I think that in order to assimilate the Latvian language seriously, and to study the republic's history, geography, and culture, there is another way. It is necessary to establish an identical course of instruction for all the general educational schools in the republic.

The Ministry of Public Education, in cooperation with the other interested institutions, is currently developing new concepts for radical improving the content and methods of teaching Latvian language and literature. In the next school year the general educational schools will receive different versions of curricula in Latvian language and literature, and the vocational-technical schools will receive a version of a transitional curriculum.

A new group of authors has been formed in Daugavpils to create a curriculum and textbooks for the Latgal Zone, and scientists at the Institute of Language and Literature are working to develop, by the beginning of the new school year, a curriculum for an elective course to master the Latgal dialect.

On the initiative of the national-cultural societies, the creation of curricula and teaching aids for studying Latvian in classes and schools for national minorities that are residing in Latvia has begun.

This year the schools with Latvian or Russian as the language of instruction will receive 10 textbooks in Latvian language and literature, that have been prepared in accordance with the new and improved curricula.

This year the reference aid "Latyshskiy yazyk" [Latvian Language] has been published for schools with Russian as the language of instruction, and two more reference books will be published, to help the students to prepare better for the graduation examinations.

In order to encourage the creation of new textbooks, the government's government has authorized the granting of sabbatical leave to writers, while retaining their average earnings at their basic place of work. There has been an increase in the author's compensation for publishing textbooks and other teaching aids.

In order to guarantee the future specialists will assimilate the state language, a new department was created at Latvian State University in February 1989—the Department of Practical Latvian. Its tasks also include the coordination of the methodological questions of studying Latvian in the republic's institutions of higher learning. A minimum vocabulary is being developed for studying the course in practical Latvian and for creating the textbooks.

Starting with the new school year, Latvian will be studied in all the higher and secondary special educational institutions.

One of the most important tasks for creating the real opportunities for mastering the Latvian language is the providing of pedagogical cadres.

As early as the new 1989-1990 school year, the admission of students in the specialty "Latvian Language and Literature" in our pedagogical institutions of higher learning will be increased by 75 persons, and the total number that will be admitted in this specialty will be 375. The training of Latvian language teachers has been restored at Daugavpils Pedagogical Institute. I want to emphasize that the total plan for admitting students to the Russian track at the republic's higher educational institutions will not be reduced.

In addition, in the new school year four pedagogical classes will be opened (two in Riga, one in Daugavpils, and one in Ventspils).

Starting next year, the republic's government has authorized involving all types of retired teachers in the work as teachers of Latvian language and literature in urban educational institutions and paying them their salary and their complete pension, in a total that does not exceed 300 rubles a month. The first results already exist—approximately 100 retired teachers are already working.

Starting 1 September 1988 the salary for Latvian language teachers working in rural and settlement secondary educational institutions with Russian as the language of instruction was increased by 15 percent, that is, in the same volume that previously had been established for Russian language teachers in schools with Latvian as the language of instruction.

For those teachers and instructors who will be teaching Latvian in labor collectives, the Ministry of Public Education is already organizing refresher courses this year. Starting with the new school year, at the Pedagogical Department of Latvian State University the teachers will have the opportunity to become recertified in the specialty "Latvian Language in Schools With Russian as the Language of Instruction," by taking correspondence courses.

The carrying out of all these measures, in our opinion, will promote the providing of cadres of language teachers and instructors.

Comrade deputies! When the draft of the Law on Languages was being discussed, a question that caused much alarm in many labor collectives, especially at industrial enterprises, was the question of changing official correspondence to the state language. Actually this is a large and labor-intensive job. It will require many efforts, as well as a rather large number of material expenditures.

But first let us discuss what we understand by the words "official correspondence." Reflecting in the documents the activity of the administrative apparatus is the main thing. Consequently, the first-priority task in this area is guaranteeing the use of Latvian in the spheres of state and social activity when preparing organizational, executive, and accounting documentation.

Sessions of the Council of Ministers and its Presidium are currently being conducted in Latvian with simultaneous interpretation. All the decrees of a normative nature are being translated into Latvian. A constantly increasing number of decrees, orders, and other documents are being prepared and enacted in Latvian.

Many ispolkoms of rural rayons, Goskomstat [State Committee for Statistics], Ministry of Municipal Management, etc. have already begun translating official correspondence into the state language.

But the bulk of the work of translating official correspondence into the state language lies ahead.

In order to change over to the use of the state language in official correspondence, the government will create a special commission after the enactment of the Law on Languages.

The commission will determine the procedure for use of the state language in documenting the administrative activity, as well as the application of the language in

departmental, interdepartmental, technical, and construction-planning documentation. The Main Administration of Archives has already begun developing the methodology and instructions for using the state language in official correspondence.

The ministries, state committees, and departments, having enlisted the aid of scientists from the higher educational institutions and the Academy of Sciences, are working to refine the terminology used in the branches and to develop it in Latvian.

Simultaneously it is necessary to be concerned about the training, refresher training, and recertification of cadres of correspondence file clerks and typists in educational institutions and vocational-technical schools, by concluding the appropriate contracts with them.

Another serious question is the question of providing enterprises, institutions, and organizations with typewriters.

Keeping in mind the initiative of the republic's Ministry of Trade, which concluded a contract with the Liter Cooperative in Moscow, which pledged to guarantee by July of this year the delivery on contract to the republic of 1000 typewriters with the Latin alphabet and in the course of the year the republic will purchase 4500 additional typewriters with Latvian and Latin fonts.

The Latvian Production Association for Computer Technology and Information Science must move promptly to guarantee the fulfillment of the production orders submitted by enterprises, institutions, and organizations to replace the typewriter fonts.

The NII [Scientific-Research Institute] of Planning has been given the responsibility of coordinating the work of adapting the electronic computers to the use of the Latvian language.

There is no doubt that in order to implement the Law on Languages considerable additional appropriations will be necessary. For budgetary institutions, these appropriations are stipulated by the state budget. But enterprises operating under the system of cost accountability will cover these expenditures themselves. Our tentative computations indicate that the financing of the program of measures that have been stipulated by the republic government's program will require approximately 50 million rubles, of which 23 million will come from the budget. The republic budget and the local budgets have these funds and they will be taken into consideration when forming the budget for the appropriate year.

I would like to express an additional consideration which, in my opinion, is extremely important.

The true status of Latvian in our republic will be determined not only by the requirements that have been expressed in the law, and not even by the conditions that

will be created for people who are not fluent in the language. It is necessary for every citizen to be aware that the restoration of the rights of the Latvian language and its consolidation have been necessitated by perestroika.

The Law on Languages, as was stipulated in the drafts of the documents to be discussed today, will be carried out gradually and consistently in the republic. The transitional period will last three years. During that time it is possible to have time enough to do, assimilate, and re-evaluate many things. It is necessary to take into consideration the real opportunities, but it is not necessary to force or exaggerate anything.

Perestroika must be carried out in unity and in mutual consent. The adoption of resolutions and protests, and the issuing of ultimatums, are by no means the best method here. The extremist demands against those residents who do not yet know Latvian are also unacceptable.

The enactment of the Latvian SSR Law on Languages is only a definite stage in the regulation of the linguistic situation. We will need a large amount of work and the good will of all the peoples living in the republic in order to implement this law. At the same time I want to call upon all residents to be absolutely correct toward one another on the path to real bilingualism. It will be necessary to proceed along this path by resting on the ethical principles of highly cultivated society. Only then can we hope for the normal development of interethnic relations in our republic. Only in this manner can we guarantee for Latvian the status of a state language, and for the residents of the republic the right to assimilate and use their native language.

The republic's government will unswervingly continue the work to ensure the improvement of our program of actions by means of the specific measures that the deputies will propose today, and to ensure the successful implementation of the Law on Languages in our republic.

**Lithuanian Deputy Talks About Future**  
18120097a Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English  
No 22, 4-11 Jun 89 p 9

[Interview with Romualdas Ozolas by Nina Belyayeva: "Conflict—A Basis for a Reasonable Dialogue" First paragraph is introduction by MOSCOW NEWS]

[Text] Many people in Lithuania know the name Romualdas Ozolas. Few people can boast being "a deputy to three parliaments" at once—the Council of the Seimas of Sajudis, the Lithuanian movement for perestroika, the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian USSR, and a people's deputy of the USSR. Ozolas answered questions from MN correspondent Nina Belyayeva about work done and work to be done.

MN: The reading public of Lithuania and all those interested in the development of public movements in the Baltic Republics know you, above all, as a journalist and the publisher of the weekly REBIRTH (circulation: 100,000 in Lithuanian, 30,000 in Russian) and the supplement to it—the newspaper CONSENT (30,000 in Russian only). You have also kept your "formal job as deputy editor-in-chief of the Republic Mysl (Thought) Publishers. How do you manage to combine all this?

R. O.: Simple. It's all part of one big job, links in one chain—the self-realization of the nation, the awakening of its political culture, and the tool and testimony of its rebirth. CONSENT is specially published for Russian-language readers. We want everybody in the USSR, who knows the language of international unity, to understand our aims, principles, our moral norms and traditions. And at the Mysl Publishers we're preparing a whole series of works on the Lithuanian heritage within the context of world culture. I see it as my task as publisher, politician, and people's deputy from Lithuania, to collect and propagandize the culture of the nation.

MN: The broad support given to Sajudis by the Republic's population has led to more than 30 of its representatives being elected people's deputies of the USSR. This sharply changed the nature of the entire movement—from a force opposing the authorities to a body of power itself. Will this influence the nature of the movement? If so, how will its tasks change?

R. O.: The main thing is to preserve the specific features of Sajudis as an organ of the public and as a democratic institution expressing and shaping public opinion. So, the main task remains—the development of political culture, of a self-organizing society through public commissions working with official commissions of deputies—this process has already been started.

If the elections to the Republican organs of power are successful, then we could say that Sajudis has consolidated the nation's best forces according to the principles of perestroika. But the movement also has another task—to represent, support and protect the interests of different strata and social groups in the Republic, and the different ways and methods of moving towards the common goal—the building of a just, law-governed state. Sajudis gives different public forces legal self-expression, helps them elaborate their platforms and unite organizationally within the framework of their programme.

We also support the public structure—the basis for the future commissions attached to the Supreme Soviet of the Republic. We're now elaborating laws which will guarantee the functioning of such commissions.

MN: Apparently these laws are the initiative of deputies from Sajudis? What do you think are the specific features of the work of representatives of your movement in the Republic's Supreme Soviet?

R. O.: We must try first and foremost to transfer to the Supreme Soviet the mechanisms for using public initiative. The activity of society itself should be the motive force for the development of a state. That's why public commissions must become not auxiliary organs preparing references, but an important element of the entire structure of democracy. For example, when the movement for the protection of monuments and of the national cultural heritage held its founding congress, it elected its own coordinating body, which became the basis of one of the commissions of the Republic's Supreme Soviet.

MN: Do you have a special programme as a people's deputy of the USSR? What do you see as your task in the Congress?

R. O.: At the first, organizational, stage the main task is to back the democratic deputies, to form a real constructive counterweight to the anti-perestroika forces, whose representatives, I think, are to be found among the new deputies, which is quite natural, even democratic. But we must give our support to Mikhail Gorbachev, so that the transformations which he initiates are not slowed down artificially.

MN: Do you see any danger of conflict at the Congress?

R. O.: Of course I do! But why is it dangerous? A civilized conflict can bring rational and reasonable decisions. No conflict means a madness that leads to intellectual slavery, to blind obedience. Confrontation always offers a basis for agreement.

Posing a problem is already the first step to solving it. The disputing sides must offer not simply different projects, but also their own methods and versions for a solution. If a project is accepted by all, that's already a programme of action, if not, then fresh arguments are introduced and another dialogue starts, i.e.—the next step to agreement.

#### New Informal Organization Defined

18120098b Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English  
No 22, 4-11 Jun 89 p 2

[Article by Yuri Kupin: "What Is Patriot?"]

[Text] The Patriot Society was registered here. "There is no room for Russophobes on TV and radio", "Make public the proportions of different nationalities in the USSR Supreme Soviet", "Where is the Fifth Wheel rolling?" and other posters showed its positions already at its first meeting.

Patriot was registered by the Petrogradsky District Soviet Executive Committee of Leningrad. Alexander Romanenko, author of the book *The Class Essence of Zionism*, is the leader of the society.

The public search for the "enemies of the people" was accompanied by impassioned pledges by the speakers that they are for strengthening friendship among nations and have nothing against other nationalities. It was said at the meeting that the four years of perestroika are "a prolonged period of mockery of our Fatherland".

Militiamen stood nearby throughout the meeting of the "patriotic" forces, and staff members of two district Party committees were present. Still, several incidents did take place.

Mikhail Chulaki, a Leningrad writer, comments on the event at the request of MN:

The subject surfaced which is usual for meetings of the "patriots" from the Pamyat society—"Shame on Russophobes!". The Patriot is, probably, not Pamyat in its pure form, but a combination of nationalistic prejudices with general conservative thinking in the spirit of the old "general line". Take, for example, such exclamations as "We won't allow our Army to be defiled!" which the "patriots" use to confront the condemnation of hazing.

But quite a few people were simply mixed up. They spoke about our real shortcomings. But we are all to blame for such a situation and the search for the enemies, the plotters and the radicals, especially concrete enemies, and best of all—with non-Russian names—is an attempt to remove the blame from one's own name. This is as old as the hills.

Still, I wouldn't want such meetings to be forbidden. The banning would only make martyrs out of them. Let them show their true image.

#### **Languages of Northern Nationalities Decline** 18001012 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 25 Apr 89 p 3

[Article by V. Pyrkh: "What Was a Native Language Has Become Foreign"]

[Excerpt] Krasnoyarsk Kray occupies a vast territory. Hundreds, and in some places even thousands of kilometers separate sparse trading posts, and cities are even rarer. Fewer than 5,000 Dolgans, 3,200 Evenks, 2,300 Nenets, and not more than 2,000 total of Kets, Nganasans, Selkups and Ents—only a hundred of the latter!—reside in these severe latitudes. Their percentage in comparison with the total Siberian population is negligibly low. This is probably what gave birth to the illusion, maintained for many years, that small nations mean small problems as well.

"The number of workers with a higher education, per thousand residents, is even greater in Taymyr and Evenkia than in the traditionally literate regions of the country," notes an information source written in our days. "Moreover it is precisely among the indigenous population that the percentage of literacy is higher."

How can we not succumb here to the magical influence of the rainbows painted by official information! Yes, 275 representatives of the indigenous nationality are attending courses in the VUZes and tekhnikums of Evenkia on a special enrollment basis, and this exceeds the statistical average as well. But there are also other facts which are not to be found in official references. In an eight-year school in Nadymskiy Rayon, not far from Tura, I walked into a native language lesson—and deliberately at that. Because I knew that the person who was teaching the children here to speak Evenki was not an Evenk but a Russian.

"There is no one in the village to replace me," teacher A. Omelkin, formerly a native Muscovite, raised his hands in dismay. Two decades had gone by since he had "fallen in love" with the North, abandoned his hearth and home, and moved to Evenkia. He had ridden all of the roads of the okrug in the company of geologists, and spent a long time living in tents. And gradually he learned all of the northern languages—Komi, Dolgan, Yakut and Evenki.

But is it normal for someone who is not an Evenk to teach Evenks their native language? But then, why be amazed if the larger part of the young teachers are reluctant to work in the schools? They prefer executive chairs in party and soviet organs, the staff of which consists in the okrugs mainly of former graduates of pedagogical VUZes.

And so it is in the Tura boarding school as well. Evenki is taught in the beginning classes by V. Bragina, a Yakut. But even the nationality of the teacher has nothing to do with it! The real problem is that such instruction is practically ineffective. Teaching youngsters their native language is equivalent to studying a foreign language, and after a year of study at the boarding school the first-graders had not learned a single word in Evenki!

"Russian children learn Evenki faster," Valentina Aleksandrovna said with real distress in her voice, and it was not difficult for me to understand how she felt. And in the town of Nosok, located on the lower reaches of the Yenisey, right at the threshold of the Karsk Sea, I carried out a small experiment: I asked to be introduced to the best tenth-grader of the local boarding school. The choice settled upon Yura Yaptune, a Nenets.

"Could you write at least one phrase in Nenets in my notebook?" I asked him.

He pondered for a long time, and then laid the pen aside in distress.

"No, I can't.... Our native language is taught here only up to third grade. After that, it's all forgotten...."

Thus we find that even a model student does not know the language of his mother! And anyway, how is he to learn it, if in Krasnoyarsk Kray only Evenks and Nenets

have their own primers?! Even Dolgans, the most numerous nationality of Taymyr, do not yet have them. It is true that something resembling a textbook was put out on mimeograph in the early 1980s, but it is not something that is picked up with any great pleasure. It falls quite short of the beautiful and eloquent central publications! And just like a century ago, the Nganasans, Selkups, Kets and Ents do not have a written language.

Even the local authorities, it seems, have resigned themselves to this, and are waiting for the northern languages to become the same kind of tourist attractions as a shaman's tambourine and ceremonial trinkets.

Could this not be why special columns in national languages have disappeared from both district newspapers, and someone who speaks them cannot be found on the editor's staff in broad daylight? Could this not be why some writers rising up to the defense of native speech have become not especially welcome guests in the okrugs?

And whenever this subject is broached, the word nationalism comes up. In the recent past, this convenient scarecrow worked unerringly whatever the topic of discussion, be it protection of the native language and culture or simply an ecological protest.

What we need to do today is not attach labels but seriously solve the problems of the minorities, of interethnic relations and of international education.

"Each day up to a dozen students play hooky from our school," V. Feoktistov, director of the Dudinka Sanatorium and Boarding School No 1, told me. "And you know where we find them? At the airport! They sit there and wait in the hope of meeting someone they know from home."

"At first we fought this," boarding school director G. Semenova admitted to me, "but later on we gave in to the children. We even began providing bag lunches to the truants. What can you do with it, this yearning to participate in the work of their fathers?"

"Later on we managed to acquire a hunting ground from the closest sovkhoz, and put some equipment and gear together. Under the supervision of physical education teacher V. Volkov they built huts there, and began to go there in winter for a month-long practicum. And last year the children brought their first quarry back to the boarding school—two sables and five squirrels."

Nonetheless, this is a fortunate exception: Usually the needs of the children are not understood. Instead, they are forcibly taught to become fitters or choreographers. And even stranger ideas originate in the executive minds of the district and kray authorities! In the meantime the reindeer herdsmen, fishermen and hunters note with every year with growing anxiety that when their children

return to the tundra for their summer vacation, they feel helpless. Consequently the state boarding schools are not providing any kind of benefit to them at all.

Yes, the number of hospital beds available in the North is large. But if we look at the end result, we find that the incidence of tuberculosis among the indigenous population is not decreasing. Child mortality is two to three times higher than the average for the kray and the country. Why?

"The beds are in the rayon hospitals, but the people are out in the tundra," M. Komissarov, the chief surgeon of the Taymyr okrug hospital explained the situation to me. "Even in comparison with the 1930s we have taken a step backward. We hastily enlarged the settlements, but left the reindeer herdsmen in the tundra without a medical assistant."

Does this mean that the accomplishments which people love to refer to in anniversary speeches are clearly exaggerated? The people's lack of social security, unemployment and drunkenness—many things came to the North together with enlargement of the settlements, with abolition of the kolkhozes and the principle of family artels. The region requires a special, unique conception of development, is what I have heard on several occasions from people seriously concerned with the status of the kray's ethnic minorities. Appeals full of desperation have already appeared in our press: Back to the yarangas! We'll create Soviet reservations to save our Northerners! But can we really alienate entire peoples from civilization? And do we have the right to make decisions for others?

"Consider the foreign experience as an example," Doctor of Biological Sciences A. Solomakh, director of the Agricultural Scientific Research Institute of the Far North told me. "They have been able to make the interests of aborigines compatible with the scientific and technical revolution of the 20th century."

Aleksey Ivanovich had himself visited both Sweden and Canada, and he arrived at a principal conclusion for himself: Our misfortune lies not in the absence of resources, but in the fact that we stubbornly insist on converting aborigines over to our "faith." Rather than providing, as an example, possibilities for developing traditional forms of employment—hunting, reindeer herding, without which the existence of these ethnic groups is unimaginable, we are imposing swine herding at trading posts and breeding cows. And we give no thought to the consequences of such "benefaction."

In Sweden for example, only those Saamians who live in a commune may engage in reindeer herding. And no one else! There are an average of 300 reindeer for every aborigine there. And the state pays each one of them from its treasury as an incentive to the herdsmen. This is what makes reindeer herding advantageous to the aborigines, and while they do not live in established

settlements, they do have two-story detached houses for themselves and their children, and the same assortment of benefits as any other resident of the country.

It is also apparently time for us to legislatively affirm the rights of Northerners to the same kind of hunting and fishing, and get industry interested in producing the equipment they need. Let me repeat that the North's economy cannot be uplifted without processing raw materials locally. If burbot liver is used to make dogfood rather than being sold as a delicacy, there can be no discussion of any kind of profitability of northern farms.

An all-union scientific conference to work out the conceptions of developing the Far North was held in November of last year in Novosibirsk. I read some of its proceedings, and was puzzled: Had those scientists who argued for the region's accelerated industrialization visited the reindeer herding brigades and the fishermen? Had they asked their opinion as to how they would wish to live in the future?

The idea of concentration, of collection of even larger numbers of aborigines into towns and cities, is circulating not only among scientists. I have heard speeches by kray executives, and not just on one occasion, who are still convinced that this would be the panacea for all woes, and that this would supposedly make it easier to put life in order and simpler to organize a high level of public health. But does this road not lead to assimilation of the ethnic groups of the North?

"We of course cannot allow even the smallest minority to disappear, or the language of even the smallest minority to be lost," was what M. S. Gorbachev said in January in a meeting with the country's creative intelligentsia.

**Writer Campaigns To Save His Tribe**  
18120091 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English  
No 12, 1989 p 6

[Text] Prevent the extinction of the ancient Khants—this is what Yeremei AIPIN, a Khant writer called for in the pages of "MN" No 2). Now he has been nominated as candidate for people's deputy of the USSR for the Khanty-Mansi National-Territorial Area No 747. Published below are excerpts from his election programme.

Since the discovery of large oil-and-gas deposits in our Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Area, we have gained nothing and, in fact, lost very much. First and foremost, this concerns the catastrophic state of nature, the indigenous ethnic groups and the traditional branches of the economy. What is to be done? How are we going to go on living in our common Ugric Home—common for all nations and ethnic groups?

I think that much can be decided by the coming Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR. IN the country's highest legislative body I would stand up for:

- the adoption of a Law of the Russian Federation on the Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Area;

an independent economy with the rights of an autonomous region;

the establishment of a Committee of the North under the auspices of the presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet;

the foundation of a University of the Peoples of the North;

the establishment of preserves as territories on which the indigenous people of the North could live and carry out economic activities.

I am interested in man and his present worries and headaches: housing, food, the development of the social sphere, and keeping the nature of our land—Ugra—intact. All these problems are present in the life of the area's indigenous population—the Khants, the Mansi and the Nenets—who are in the most dire situation today. Statistics show that during the 1970s, the number of the Khants decreased from 21,138 to 20,934, and of the Mansi—from 7,710 to 7,563. By 1 and 2 per cent accordingly. In fact mortality is exceedingly high among the indigenous population. The minimum wage of the indigenous population (with northern bonuses) is 26 roubles a month. All of this bears witness to the dying off of the native peoples here.

What should be done to halt this slide into oblivion?

In the early 1930s, when we acquired our own statehood in the shape of a national area, the population totalled 39,000, whereas today 1,300,000 inhabitants live here. In terms of the population and the economic potential, it should be a Union Republic, a whole state. But the structure and administrative personnel have remained practically on the level of the 1930s. Our land is fabulously rich, but in spite of this, entire groups of the population, and whole cities and districts lead a beggarly life. There is no housing, no social facilities, no transportation, and no means of communication.

The area must receive real autonomy: political, legal, economic, financial, administrative and managerial.

I pin definite hopes on the draft Law on the Autonomous Area which is now in the making. Recently I met with V. Abolentsev, the Russian Federation's Minister of Justice who is chairman of the State Commission for drafting this Law. The talk with the minister encouraged me.

Real autonomy would make it possible to pose a question to the government about the opening of a Permanent Mission for the area at the USSR Council of Ministers. The mission would stand up for our interests vis-a-vis the Union and Republican departments in the sphere of the economy, social and cultural life, ecology, and cooperation with foreign countries and firms.

Real autonomy would make it possible to formulate the status of a National District, National rural Soviet and National Settlement. It would enable us to create a system ensuring Self-management on this territory.

Real autonomy would expedite the creation of preserve territories for the domestic and managerial-economic activities of the indigenous population of the North. The Khants, Mansi and Nenets will only survive if we preserve their traditional occupations—hunting, fishing and reindeer breeding. But to preserve these activities, there is a need to have farmland and pastures. In short, we need land as living space.

On the economy. To even out the living standards of different strata of the population, promote housing construction and upgrade living conditions, there is a need to:

- annually add to the area's budget a percentage of the profits from oil, gas, furs, timber, etc.;

ensure that the necessary material resources—equipment, machinery, building materials, etc.—are made available.

These funds should be provided to the local Soviets to raise the living standards of the socially unprotected strata of the area's population, and to create a material and technical basis for the traditional branches of the economy—reindeer breeding, hunting and fishing, public education and culture, public health and sports organizations, and trade and welfare services.

On the ecology. To set up a public movement for saving the area of the River Ob. Today the question of protecting the environment is associated with the question of saving the Life not only of the indigenous nationalities of the North, but of all the inhabitants of our Ugra without exception. If we protect the Earth, there will be Life.

On the human soul. The area must build up its spiritual potential. There is a need for people's and professional theatres, exhibition halls and studios for artists, a museum and TV centre in the area's capital, secondary and higher educational establishments, as well as specialized educational establishments for creatively gifted children and youth, printing facilities for the publication of literature, research institutes on the questions of language, art, history and ecology, youth culture centres, etc.

Our Earth is in very great need of building up its spiritual potential and awakening the feeling of mercy and humanism in every human being living here.

On Democratization and Glasnost. Referendums must be held on the most crucial issues at the level of settlements, districts, cities and the area. The inhabitants of the given region (city, district, village) must be informed

via the press about the construction of industrial facilities and installations well in advance, prior to the endorsement of their projects by government departments.

The important thing is that all of us should, at last, feel not like guests, but true masters in our great Ugric Home. And the master knows best what he should do. He knows who in this Home most of all needs warmth and sympathy.

#### Reader Decries 'Racism' of Pre-Election Minsk Demonstration

*18001100a Minsk SOVETSKAYA BEGORUSSIYA in Russian 13 Apr 89 p 3*

[Letter by E. Muterperl: "Passions over Pushkin"]

[Text] I regularly read our republic's press (in Russian and Belorussian). Along with everybody else, I rejoice at the changes taking place in the society, since a fresh new wind has begun to blow, stirring the soul of every honest Soviet person. But after reading the article entitled "Passions over Pushkin" in the newspaper SOVETSKAYA BEGORUSSIYA, as published on 27 March of this year, I was dumbfounded. How could it happen that in the 72nd year of our state's existence there are persons who deface the Belorussian state flag and who come out in a demonstration with slogans which I am loathe to repeat (it's enough that they were cited in the article)? And they did not just come out, but they assembled under the flags of the Belorussian Council, the leaders of which were up to their ears in the blood of partisans and the peaceful population. Is this not blasphemy?

But this was not the only thing which astounded me. The chief shouter—a student named Pushkin—was sentenced to merely five days of administrative arrest for organizing an anti-socialist demonstration and calling for the overthrow of the Soviet regime in the BSSR (and calling for the annihilation of the communists—and there really is such a call). But there is also an appropriate article of the law which provides for a sentence not measured in days.

And so it seems that Jews and communists have to fear going out onto the street. This is what it amounts to: a repetition of the pogroms committed by the Black Hundreds or the times of the occupation, when the words "Jude" and "Kommunist" meant just one and the same thing to our enemies: "Annihilate!" Why is it that I, who have lived in Belorussia since the day of my birth 38 years ago, I who have my roots in our land, I who know the language and the customs must leave this land, where everything is dear to me? Just because I am a Jew, and a bunch of obscurantists wish to see Belorussia without any Jews or communists? It's not going to happen that way, Messrs. Nationalists!

I fail to understand why we need to be so formally correct with these shouters. Although we have democracy nowadays, that does not mean that we must give free rein to racists who have cast aside all restraint. Why not apply to them the measures provided for by the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the KGB? We brand the United States and the Republic of South Africa for their racial discrimination against colored people, but what is beginning to happen openly in our own country. Isn't it really the very same thing?

**Rumors Regarding Chernovtsy Illness Persist**  
*18001100b Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian*  
*14 Apr 89 p 3*

[Article by V. Pelekh, RATAU correspondent: "The Situation in Chernovtsy: Reality and Fantasies"]

[Text] It has been five months since Chernovtsy witnessed the last hospitalization of a child diagnosed as having chemical alopecia, and the discovery of the first symptom of this insidious disease, which broke out during the autumn of last year. It struck more than 160 children. All those who contracted this disease were given a course of intensive treatment at this country's best clinics under the care of experienced, well-qualified physicians, and they have now returned to their homes. Their health has improved considerably.

"My three-year-old Deniska's hair has grown back in completely," I was told by V.A. Naydenova, an inhabitant of this city. "All his organs are functioning normally. But sometimes this little boy complains of pain in his legs. I'm not sure whether this is connected with the disease he had, but my motherly heart is troubled...."

Doubts and worries have also persisted among other parents. This is fully understandable because what we are talking about is the health of their children. All the more so in that among some of the boys and girls upon their returning home from the clinics have had trouble sleeping, they have been excessively excited and irritable; they have also had certain functional disorders. There are instances of hair being lost among other, previously healthy children. And, although these deviations are connected with the most diverse factors, the parents are inclined to see in them the results of the chemical disease, and it is sometimes difficult for the medical people to convince them otherwise.

"For each new case of focal baldness we conducted a detailed and multi-faceted investigation," stated Professor A.G. Rumyantsev, the country's leading hematologist. The data received from the analysis provides every grounds for stating that what are now dealing with is the ordinary focal alopecia, which is well known to medical people and is encountered comparatively often. In Chernovtsy its spread is even somewhat lower than in

other regions of the country. And this disease is caused not by a chemical action but rather by fungous infections, functional disorders of various organs, hereditary diseases, and other causes.

This same opinion was stated by other leading specialists from the country's and the republic's ministries of health; they were included in the commission, headed by A.A. Baranov, USSR deputy minister of health, who are working in Chernovtsy again. They are carrying out repeat examinations of the children, studying the state of their health after they have recovered from the disease. They have outlined ways to completely rehabilitate those who suffered. Along with party, Soviet, and trade-union organs, they are undertaking additional measures with regard to preventing the disease and restore health to all the children in the city.

Work is continuing on improving the ecological situation in the city.

"In recent times," stated P.M. Kaspruk, chairman of the ispolkom of the city Soviet of People's Deputies, "we have closed down or transferred to other sites about 20 production facilities, workshops, and sections which are ecologically unfavorable. We have thoroughly washed all apartment houses and public buildings on several occasions. More than 90 special machines have carried out an intensive washing of the streets, squares, and sidewalks. The measures undertaken by us are providing a positive effect. As the medical commission members have been convinced, the environment in Chernovtsy has now become considerably cleaner than it was prior to the time when the disease broke out.

Much effort has been applied to strengthen the material and technical base of the children's medical institutions. A scientific-research institute of toxicometry has been established in Chernovtsy. Plans have been made to open a large diagnostic center, outfitted with up-to-date apparatus, a rehabilitation division with a polyclinic and an in-patient clinic, where repeat investigations will be conducted and children treated who have any forms of baldness, as well as those who are under the constant dispensary care of specialists.

"It's important that the measures being undertaken are understood, that the broad public obtains help and support," stated G.I. Razumeyeva, chief of the Main Administration for Treatment and Preventive Aid for Children and Mothers of the UkSSR Ministry of Health. "Many enterprises and organizations which have sanatoriums and boarding houses have allotted them for summer rest cures to be undertaken by mothers with children. Additional places are being set aside for them in the health-care facilities of trade-union and medical organs. And now food services are being organized in certain educational and preschool institutions, providing the children with high-calories products, vegetables and fruits, which speaking frankly, cannot be considered

normal. Furthermore, the city lacks sufficient fresh vegetables, seafood, and meat products." There are also other negative facts and tendencies regarding the course of completely eliminating the consequences of chemical disease. The city is rife with various exaggerated rumors which are destabilizing the moral-psychological climate. What we are talking about are the leaks of rocket fuel and other toxic substances which supposedly took place and for which the military is supposedly to blame.

"We turned to the defense department for an explanation," I was told by A.A. Baranov, the chairman of the medical commission. "In the reply we received it was precisely, convincingly, and unambiguously stated that no operations connected with the installation, transportation, or liquidation of strategic and chemical weapons had been conducted on the territory of Bukovina or the regions adjacent to it. There have been absolutely no substantial deviations from the overall ecological background of the city, nor in the results of the tests run on the soil, air, and water at the sites where the pollution is supposed to have taken place."

Also proven unsubstantiated and groundless are the radiational, viral, and other widespread versions in the city as to the causes of the children's infection. They have been put forth by incompetent persons who are sometimes pursuing business purposes. Because, of course, it is not by chance that the specialists at the enterprises and research institutions in which the investigatory organs discovered unregistered and illegally stored thalium have tried to sow doubts as to the correctness of the actions and the reliability of the conclusions drawn by the government commission.

The situation has been complicated by the fact that we still do not know what was the cause of the environmental pollution which occurred last year. This has engendered various rumors and fantasies, has evoked agitation and alarm, and, among a certain part of the population, even a distrust of the official information. Many parents and public representatives have proposed that foreign specialists be invited to Chernovtsy.

"We've met them halfway; we directed a request to the World Health Organization, and we expect their representatives to arrive in one or two weeks," stated Professor V.V. Berezhnaya, the republic's chief pediatrician. "But such a decision does not give any grounds for doubts about the high qualifications, professional skills, and service conscientiousness of this city's children's doctors. They were the ones who first specifically established the diagnosis and applied the methods for treating this disease which had not been encountered before. Their conclusions proved to be correct, and they were subsequently approved and confirmed by this country's leading specialists at scientific-research and treatment institutions."

**Armenian Health Minister on Medical Care System Automation**

18300497a Yerevan *KOMMUNIST* 10 Mar 89 p 1

[Article by Armenian SSR Minister of Health E. Gabrielyan: "Technical Support for Medicine"]

[Text] The republic's Ministry of Health has initiated the development and step-wise introduction of a large-scale project known as the Republic Automated Public Health Safeguard System (RASOZ) which will entail the creation of an expanded Public Health data bank with medical-social information for each resident of the republic prior to the year 2000.

During the first stage of the project prior to 1992 the following priority tasks are slated to be completed: The creation of an automated system for observing the health of pregnant women and children during their first year of life. This includes the provision of complete administrative and information continuity of prenatal consultations, maternity homes, and pediatric polyclinics and the creation of a Prenatal and Newborn Health data bank as well as an automated system for the health supervision of adolescents and employees at major industrial enterprises.

Automated screening of the public will be broadly instituted to identify groups of the population most susceptible to the most prevalent illnesses (cardiovascular system diseases, GI tract illnesses, and sugar diabetes, etc.). This will involve the participation of the mass media (television, the press) as well as the creation of a data bank for persons with risk factors to be sent to the republic diagnostic center for comprehensive examination.

A particularly important role in RASOZ will be played by the Republic Diagnostic Center which already has a functioning first series automated data bank system which contains the results of patient examinations and biomedical analyses obtained from practically every therapeutic institution of the republic.

The comprehensive mass laboratory and instrumental studies that are being carried out in a centralized and highly professional manner will complement personal medical histories from the corresponding data banks with valuable reliable information.

At the same time the efficient implementation of the project depends on the resolution of many serious problems. First of all, there is the problem of out-patient clinic charts, medical histories, and many other documents most of which has not been formally organized. Therefore, an important step toward the goal of creating a "paperless technology" will be the institution of standardized formalized out-patient charts, specialized medical histories which employ the broad use of classifiers for diseases, laboratory instrumental studies, symptomatics, and a method of standardizing the forms of

research results, etc. Only in this way can we have a new system for the dynamic tracking of the public's health. We are already undertaking intensive efforts. We are ready to share our gained experience with interested organizations for the further cooperations of efforts.

Another important problem is the acute shortage of computer technology as well as the poor quality of our telephone and telegraph networks. RASOZ can function effectively only if we have a broadly developed computer network that will connect personal computers to the super computers. Considerable capital investments are required in this area.

The development of hospital care in the republic constitutes an important problem. Merely increasing the number of hospitals and hospital beds cannot satisfy the demand for adequate hospital care. Today we not only have a need for hospital care, but a need for high quality and highly skilled care. Today the average space for one hospital bed is three to four square meters, and only in a few wards are their individual medical units and other conveniences. The lack of opportunities for mother and child stays in the hospital also is impeding the satisfaction of public needs. Therefore, we must make a radical improvement in the hospital bed situation, including the supply of bed equipment and new therapeutic instrumentation.

However, there remains the question as to which hospitals should be reconstructed and where should new ones be built, and which ones should have their areas of specialization changed?

We are tying the comprehensive solution of this important problem to the development of an economic-mathematical model. For this purpose we are already completing a total inventory accounting and classification of the condition of each bed, i.e., its medical-technical state, the availability of medical instruments, physician staffing, and many other data. The model will also reflect the specific characteristics of the various regions such as the environmental-climatic and economic conditions, the level of social development, and town-planning principles.

We are aware of the fact that the selected path with the insufficient supply of beds as it is, can result in even a greater demand for hospital care. But we see and realize that an intensified use of the bed availability represents an important reserve. An intensive and comprehensive pre-hospital examination of patients at a diagnostic center will result in lower average hospital stays, to a greater bed turnover, and consequently to a larger number of patients receiving hospital medical care.

Planned patient hospitalization is now taking place only as a result of preliminary out-patient examination at a diagnostic center which has today already reduced the average hospital stay by one day, and up to three days in some branches of medical care.

Now we even come across the interesting fact that 25 to 30 percent of the patients who have been designated for hospitalization do not go the hospitals after having undergone a comprehensive examination, i.e., the old stereotype of "going to the hospital to be examined" is starting to come to an end.

It is difficult to overestimate the role of physicians in the restructuring of the health sector. At the same time, there have been frequent cases of poor professionalism, violations of ethical and humane norms, and ignorance of new contemporary research methods, medicinal agents, medical equipment, etc.

The Ministry of Health of the Armenian SSR is undertaking consistent efforts to create a system for the comprehensive evaluation of physician activity as well as means to stimulate their professional and deontological growth. The deontological evaluation of a physician constitutes one of the components of comprehensive evaluation.

The idea of patient queries by means of special "response-cards" to the moral-ethical and humane qualities of physicians rendering medical services, underlies the function of the Automated System for the Deontological Appraisal of Physicians (ASDOV) which has been designed and introduced in the republic. A questionnaire is completed by patients in special opinion survey offices prior to their discharge. At the end of each month sealed containers with the completed surveys are transferred to the Computer Center where the data from the ASDOV forms are integrated in the computers with the personnel data from the data bank. The computed deontological indices of the physicians are periodically transmitted to the medical institutions where they are discussed at staff meetings.

A special list has been designed which stipulates moral and material incentive measures for physicians, supervisors of structural subdivisions and institutional administration in relation to their deontological appraisal. That listing practically includes the entire spectrum of accessible measures of action at the staff meetings that range from discussions of physician performance to certification and raises in wages.

The ASDOV's have been instituted in 24 hospitals, two stomatological polyclinics in the city of Yerevan, and three central rayon hospitals of the republic employing a total of approximately 3,300 physicians. Over 150,000 "response-cards" have been processed.

In the health institutions in which this experiment has been in progress there has been a noticeable increase in the attention paid by physicians to the deontological aspects of working with patients and a greater sense of responsibility and attentiveness to patients and their relatives both on the part of the physicians treating them and the administration of the medical institutions. Physician conferences at the institutions openly discuss the

ASDOV data and analyze the changes in the deontological appraisals of individual physicians. Of prime importance here is the moral impact that the physician staff has on each of its members.

The ASDOV has made it possible for the responses of all patients who are treated by a given patient to have a direct influence on the physician's moral and material well-being. The public has been handed an effective instrument which has made it possible to respond directly to the deontological and ethical characteristics of physicians rendering medical assistance. In our view therein lies a concrete realization of the feedback principle which is of such enormous importance for the efficient and democratic administration of such a dynamic complex system as the interrelationship between physician and patient.

The deontological indices that are defined on the basis of integrating the opinions of hundreds and thousands of patients, to a certain extent make it possible to elucidate and objectivize one of the most important aspects of physician performance.

The evaluation of a physician's professional knowledge constitutes another important component of comprehensive appraisal.

With regard to preparations for undertaking that method of evaluation, leading scientists of the republic have designed lists of problems for all areas of medical specialization without exception that totals no less than 200 problems for each area. The problems were compiled in consideration of modern achievements in theoretical and clinical medicine. The design of the problems include a concise formalization and simple pre-situational tests that require clinical medical thought in formulating diagnosis, correct technique of treatment, and prognosis. There are presently approximately 10,000 computerized problems in 30 areas of specialization.

Computerized certification is accomplished by a dialog between physician and a computer whereby the computer offers the physician a package of 100 problems assembled from various sections of the problem collection in relation to area of specialization, classification, and duties of the physician. The examinee, however, is not required to have any special skills in working with computers.

Each package contains problems in both the principal and related areas of specialization in defined percentage proportions. Ours is the first country to adopt this system of certifying physicians.

Considerable experience has been gained in the computer training and testing of professional skills of persons enrolled at the Yerevan State Institute for the Advanced

Training of Physicians both at the beginning and completion of the advanced training as well as the testing of students at the Yerevan Medical Institute and practicing physicians.

Computerized certification of physicians has been initiated in a number of specialized fields such as obstetrics and gynecology, cardiology, neurology, endocrinology, sanitation and hygiene, and others.

Computer certification takes place directly at the Computer Center where a certification monitor room and all the necessary conditions have been organized for the sessions of the certification commissions. It is noteworthy that the physicians have shown enormous interest in the new form of computerized testing of professional skills. This has led to the necessity of organizing special computer training courses requiring payment in which physicians are given an opportunity for individual work with computers in any selected medical discipline.

A most important condition in the restructuring of the health sector is a radical restructuring of the style and methods employed for health administration. Unfortunately, the Ministry, the city health departments, and the chief physicians of the rayons largely resolve day-to-day administrative problems by "putting out the fire" or by taking over burning institutions.

As an example, staff planning is not always balanced with future development of the network of therapeutic-preventive institutions whereas the very development of the network of institutions is balanced with the infrastructure of morbidity, town-planning characteristics, etc.

But surely we know that kind of approach towards administration cannot satisfy today. The Ministry of Health must become the strategic manager of the health sector. It is obliged to work out integrated comprehensive programs to achieve qualitatively higher levels of public health. Systems analysis, mathematical models, and of course, a broad access to information data banks via computers can become the working instrument of management for apparatus officials.

Naturally, we have a lot of work to do in this area although we have already begun to obtain the initial and rather promising results.

**ArSSR: Ilizarov on Post-Quake Trauma Care, Medical Advances**  
18300497b Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian  
12 Mar 89 p 2

[Interview with Professor Gavril Abramovich Ilizarov, USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member by KOMMUNIST correspondent G. Sarmakeshyan: "New Frontiers of Hope"]

[Text] How has the new traumatological service in Armenia been organized? What are its future prospects? To what extent were the possible non-traditional methods of

assistance given to the victims? Our correspondent G. Sarmakeshyan sought the answers to these and other questions from the well known Soviet physician, Hero of Socialist Labor, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Professor G. A. Ilizarov who recently visited Armenia.

[Correspondent] Gavril Abramovich, first of all, permit me to thank you with all my heart for organizing the effective assistance which your pupils accorded the earthquake victims in Armenia. What is the purpose of your visit?

[Ilizarov] As early as December 9, 36 physicians from Kurgan arrived in Armenia and I know that they succeeded in significantly easing the lot of earthquake victims. The purpose of my visit is to familiarize myself with the condition of the patients with whom the Kurgan physicians worked and to participate in the organization of a branch for trauma care which employs our methods.

[Correspondent] Are you satisfied with the work of your pupils and how do you evaluate the condition of the patients?

[Ilizarov] All of the victims whom I examined were given the best possible medical care. And although all of the cases were extremely grave, I have no doubts whatever that after a certain period of time these patients will be able to return full-time activity as completely healthy persons. And this constitutes the highest possible appraisal of the work undertaken by my successors. Moreover, our methods not only made it possible to remove the consequences of trauma, but also enabled us to eliminate certain natural deficiencies in the patients.

[Correspondent] What can you say about the opening of a department in Armenia where medical assistance will be rendered through the methods you have developed?

[Ilizarov] First of all, I am of course happy that our methods will finally be utilized in Armenia. This will doubtless raise the efficiency of treating the enormous number of trauma illnesses. The possibility of opening just such a department in Armenia has been under discussion for three years, but it was only after a terrible natural disaster fell upon your land that a positive decision was finally made. The impressions one gets from the department's operation are most favorable. The department is headed by one of my promising pupils—your countryman Arshak Mirzoyan who, after nine years of work in Kurgan, finally got the chance to work in his own homeland. Because I know the professional level of this specialist, I can say with confidence that his efforts here will bring the best positive results. As regards the remaining physicians of the department, they give me the impression of being competent specialists who are like-minded and enthusiastic. And that is certainly a guarantee of success.

[Correspondent] Would it have been possible to reduce the serious consequences of the earthquake if the specialized assistance of your methods were available when needed?

[Ilizarov] Of course the field of medicine is not omnipotent, but there might have been significantly fewer cases with dramatic outcomes. As far as I know, approximately 5,000 persons in Armenia have become invalids as a result of the earthquake. A considerable number of those persons had their limbs amputated. One of the advantages of our methods is that in many, many cases not only are we able to preserve a part of the body, even in the event of grave injuries, but often we are able to restore the part's full function. I have been employing these methods in my own practice since 1951. These methods have gained acceptance, as you know, only through tremendous effort. Today, we finally have been able to overcome previously expressed doubts. Our methods have been unanimously recognized both in our own country and abroad. The advantages can be clearly seen. However, paradoxical as it may seem, whenever one raises the possibility of opening a branch in any one particular region, we constantly run up against bureaucratic barriers and inevitable red tape. In that regard your republic is no exception. Bodily disablement could have been reduced not only among the earthquake victims in Armenia, but also among soldiers who were seriously wounded in Afghanistan. This does not at all shift the blame to the specific physicians who rendered medical assistance to the victims, since in all of these cases amputation was the only traditional medical means of saving the patients' lives. The crux of the matter of course is not one of arrogance, but to what extent can our society morally neglect a concrete opportunity to preserve a patient's health and a fully active life?

[Correspondent] In view of the fact that we have an institute of traumatology, why was this department opened at the Yerevan branch of the All-Union Scientific Center for Surgery?

[Ilizarov] I believe the answer to that question is outside my area of competence, but as far as I can understand the situation, the director of this institute, A. L. Milayelyan was the only supervisor of the republic's medical institutions who willingly offered asylum to this department and actively assisted in its opening. The department was infused with a highly qualified staff of specialists, and the institute is headed by a person who is sincerely dedicated to medicine and who is keen to all that is advanced in the field, and who is prepared to render every possible assistance to this department. Therefore, I consider the very fact that this department has initiated its operations within the walls of that institute, to be an exceptionally positive development.

[Correspondent] As far as I know, the organization of this department is just a first step. I understand the opening of major branch of your center has been proposed for Leninakan. Is that decision justified?

[Ilizarov] Generally speaking, it is still too early to talk about a final decision. The question is now being discussed, but it must be approached with maximum objectivity and enormous responsibility. The construction of a branch must be undertaken with funds derived from international help, so that to a certain extent it is bound to the disaster zone. That is why it has been suggested that the branch should be organized in Leninakan. But in the last analysis, construction itself is not such an expensive undertaking, so that would it not be better to use the received funds for the acquisition of medical equipment? As regards to the selection of a construction site, that decision should be guided first of all by transportation convenience considerations. Leninakan after all is located at a considerable distance from many regions of the republic whose communication with Leninakan is rather difficult. And surely, the branch must serve not only its own region and Armenia, but when necessary, it must be operatively capable of receiving patients from neighboring republics. In that sense, the branch's location in Yerevan would have considerable advantages. Moreover, the selection of qualified staff would be easier to resolve in the capital.

[Correspondent] And how will the problem of training specialists for the branch be resolved?

[Ilizarov] As I already mentioned, my pupil A. Mirzoyan is working here, and because he is highly qualified, he will be able to train other specialists in our methods. But the fact of the matter is that as of today we have at our disposal more than 600 methods of treating various types of pathology, and no matter how erudite a person is, one person cannot transmit all of this experience. Therefore it is necessary that specialists from Armenia come to Kurgan, and we on our part will send several of our physicians to work here.

[Correspondent] What are the advantages of your methods over the ones that are traditionally used?

[Ilizarov] In the first place, as I have already mentioned, our methods make it possible to avoid amputations and enable us to restore full function to the injured extremities. In this way our methods make it possible to reduce disability by five to seven times. The treatment period is also reduced by two to four times. All of this not only has economic and social benefits, but significantly eases the treatment process for the patient. In addition, our methods are not expensive and the use of medicinals is reduced to a minimum, and a single instrument whose production cost is not high, can be used for 1,000 patients. An additional advantage is the fact that our methods can be employed even after the traditional methods have proven to be ineffective.

[Correspondent] Your methods have been recognized by foreign specialists. Are you in contact with foreign countries?

[Ilizarov] Yes, the recognition of our methods have been fully confirmed. We have organized a department at our center for the treatment of foreign patients, and in addition, we have made arrangements for the training of specialists from other countries. We have established relations with foreign states on a commercial basis. The funds we receive from abroad are used for the acquisition of equipment and for the expansion and creation of the best possible conditions for the treatment and maintenance of our patients.

[Correspondent] How do you envision perestroyka in the health sector, and what in your opinion is causing the most harm to the field of medicine in our country?

[Ilizarov] Perestroyka in whatever field it may be must start first of all with a higher level of professional competence and civil responsibility and it must include the capability of being receptive to all new and advanced developments and actively use them in order to minimize the patient's suffering and to assure a favorable outcome. This is mercy in the highest sense of the word. The lack of these qualities is destructive to any profession. In the field of medicine that lack is frankly criminal. But still far from everyone shares those qualities. As bitter as it is to admit, if your construction workers had been more conscientious, the number of victims would have been considerably reduced, trauma services employing our methods would have been organized earlier, and many, many people would have escaped disability. Medicine is considered to be the most noble profession. Therefore it is the duty of each one of us to exert his maximum effort to overcome bureaucratic barriers and inaction that impede the active, effective introduction of new therapeutic methods.

**Baldness of Estonian Children Being Studied By Health Ministry**  
18001019a Tallinn MOLODEZH ESTONII in Russian  
15 Mar 89 p 1

[Article by Ye. Kapov: "The Answer Has Not Yet Been Found: A USSR Ministry of Health Commission At Work in Sillamyae"]

[Text] At the request of their parents, 17 children from Sillamyae were sent with them to Moscow, to the Institute of Pediatrics of the USSR Academy of Medicine for examination. The reason for this was the discovery by local doctors of 24 cases of alopecia (baldness) in children aged 3 to 5, which has already been reported in the press. This was the reason that a commission of the USSR Ministry of Health, made up of 20 specialists in various areas, came to work in Sillamyae. They included pediatricians, dermatologists, toxicologists, radiologists, and scientists of the Institute of Atomic Energy imeni Kurchatov, the Institute of Maritime Hygiene, and other scientific and research organizations.

They are examining more than ten possible causes of the alopecia. In the course of their work, they took samples of biological material from the children and sent soil, water, and food samples out for analysis.

During the period the commission was here, its members met with parents, spoke on local radio, and visited work collectives of the city.

Despite the fact that the major health indicators for residents of Sillamyae, including children, are better than analogous data for the republic as a whole, it was decided to perform a conduct study of children and pregnant women in April.

"What happened in Sillamyae?" This question was addressed to the chairman of the commission and the head of the board of therapeutic and prophylactic services of the chief administration of the USSR Ministry of Health, A. V. Sorokin, by the Estonian Press Agency correspondent.

"At present we cannot provide an unambiguous answer about what induced alopecia in these children. All the samples taken are under study and this will require a long period of time to complete. One thing we do know is that the presence in this region of Estonia of beds of so-called dicteonemov shale which contains traces of radioactive substances cannot be the cause of the ailment. The background radiation in the city meets safety standards.

"It is noteworthy that the majority of children who developed this condition were concentrated in one kindergarten, that they live in one microregion, and that approximately one month before their hair fell out all these children had chicken-pox or acute respiratory infections.

"Today, while we consider the possible causes, prophylactic measures are being taken in the city. These are primarily hygienic in nature. All the children in pre-school institutions undergo daily medical monitoring, and monitoring of the quality of their food has been increased. Measures are being taken to make the environment more wholesome. While the commission was at work, the staff members of the city sanitary-epidemiological station measured the levels of radioactivity in the city. All measurement were made in the presence of community representatives."

Judging from what Aleksandr Vladimirovich Sorokin told our correspondent, there is hope that the reason for what happened in Sillamyae will be established. After all the best institutes and specialists of the country have participated in the research. But already, as a result of the commission's work, it has been acknowledged that a number of measures must be taken to improve the healthfulness of the ecological environment in the city. And this, naturally, requires significant capital outlays, including contributions from the sectors with chemical and metallurgical enterprises working in Sillamyae.

"Isn't this incident in Sillamyae analogous to what happened in Chernovtsy?" we asked A. V. Sorokin.

"In Chernovtsy the children's baldness was of a somewhat different nature.

"We had specialists working with us here who had also been in Chernovtsy, but they claim that the two cases are not alike.

"Alopecia is a symptom, an external manifestation. Currently the specialists are puzzled by what happened in Chernovtsy as well as in Sillamyae."

Let us hope that they find the answer.

**Estonian Association for the Unlawfully Repressed Formed**

*18001019b Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 22 Mar 89 p 4*

[Article by A. Oll, N. Obornev: "We Will Remember"]

[Text] Last year the Supreme Soviet of the Estonian SSR passed a law concerning rehabilitation of the victims of mass repressions. Not long ago the Council of Ministers of the Estonian SSR issued a decree on indemnities for the material losses suffered by those who have been rehabilitated. These documents, without question, are a major step forward on the road to creating a state based on the rule of law, however, they have not come close to solving all the problems.

This are the issues the Estonian Association of Illegally Repressed Individuals (EAIRI) intends to concern itself with.

The goals of EAIRI include: to defend those who were illegally repressed in order to achieve complete rehabilitation of them all, with all the legal consequences that entails; to restore the honor and dignity, social and employment rights and indemnity for material losses; to help the members of the association needing legal and medical advice and to solve problems of social security and everyday life; to facilitate identification and open publication of the reasons for the occurrence, dissemination, and implementation of illegal repression.

To achieve these goals EAIRI will: collaborate with government agencies, councils of peoples deputies and public organizations, societies and movements, enterprises, institutions, and organizations, and also with private individuals abroad, as well as in the Estonian SSR and the Soviet Union; participate in denunciation of the ideology of Stalinism and the consequent coercion, arbitrary rule, and lawlessness and support democratization of society and creation of a state based on the rule of law, to avoid future repetition of crimes against humanity; demand unflagging and timely enforcement of the laws, decrees and decisions of the appropriate

agencies of the Soviet Union and Estonian SSR concerning illegal repressions; participate in honoring the memories of the victims of repression; facilitate the collection and maintenance of oral and written memoirs and documents reflecting historical events related to repression; and publish information concerning the activity of the association.

Members of EAIRI may include those who are living in the Estonian SSR and suffered repression or those repressed in Estonia who are now living elsewhere, their adult descendants, relatives, and friends, and individuals supporting the goals of the association, regardless of their nationality and social position.

The EAIRI will operate through local groups—divisions which will be formed from the primary organizations and individual members.

The founding members are convinced that the organization they have formed will be able to facilitate the solution of serious problems associated with Stalin's mass repression, and to aid in the struggle by those who were repressed to regain their honor, dignity, and rights.

We consider it essential that the divisions of the EAIRI, formed in the rayons and cities of the republic, register their charters with the ispolkoms of the local Councils of Peoples' Deputies and that representatives of these associations participate in the commissions concerned with the repressed that are currently being formed at the ispolkoms.

We request that all those who are interested inform the founding members of their opinions and proposals at the address: 100090, Tallinn, Glavpochtaamt, p/ya 3410 EAIRI.

To begin operations, EAIRI also needs financial support. We will be very grateful to all enterprises and organizations that find it possible to provide financial support to the association. Money can be transferred at the Zhilsotsbank to account no. 1700131 for the Estonian Association to Maintain Ancient Monuments noting that it is an "earmarked contribution for the Association for the Illegally Repressed."

**Failures of Moscow's Health Care System**  
18001080 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in  
Russian 25 Apr 89 p 3

[Statement by Aleksey Moskvichev, chief of the Main Administration for Public Health Services in Moscow, in response to questions by TASS correspondent Ye. Khorlevaya, under the rubric "Moscow Public Health: A New Leader Has the Floor": "I Will Not Hide the Acuteness of the Problem"]

[Text] Lines are nothing unusual for Muscovites. But do we have to put up with a line at an outpatient clinic to get in to see the doctor? Particularly, when it is a matter of

finding a place in a hospital and death is "imminent" in the full sense of the word? And is the city's ambulance service always deserving of the name "skoraya" [speedy]?

In response to these purely rhetorical questions, city dwellers may have their own experiences to add. Concern for the health of family members or particular friends enables each one of us to come to a general conclusion that is not reassuring: All is not well with the health care of Moscow residents. Do those in authority see what is going on? I am speaking of people whose professional duty is not only to see the existing situation as it is, but to vigorously act to change it. Yet if they see and are prepared to make changes, then what sort of changes will be made and when? These are questions in no sense rhetorical, but ones requiring real and specific replies. At the request of TASS's Moscow correspondent Ye. Khorevaya, they are responded to by the head of the city's Main Administration for Public Health Services, A. Moskvichev, who assumed his duties only a few days ago.

Of course, we see. In the Moscow City Soviet of People's Deputies, I served as head of the permanent commission on public health services. The deputies made an effort to remedy the situation, and it must be said they were successful with respect to certain issues of local concern. An opportunity now presents itself to exert an influence on the problem as a whole. I cannot and will not hide the acuteness of the problem. On the contrary, I want to emphasize with full responsibility that the state of the health care service in the capital is now at a lower level than in the country as a whole. Here are just a few of the figures. Indicators of being temporarily incapacitated in Moscow due to hypertonicity or ischemia, blocking the arterial flow of blood to the heart, for example, are from two to three times higher than the average for the country. Death resulting from myocardial infarction, gastro-enterological obstruction, and certain other surgical ailments are significantly above the country average.

One of the reasons for this situation is the use of the so-called "residual principle," which was in effect until recently in financing the development of public health services. The situation is currently changing. In Moscow a long-range program called "Health," implementing measures called for by decrees of the USSR Council of Ministers and the CPSU Central Committee, has been approved and is now being carried out. All these documents rightly stress that protecting and improving public health is not just a matter for medical institutions; it is also the legitimate concern of party, soviet, and professional organs. A united approach, I am convinced, provides the basis of success.

In restructuring the public health care system in Moscow, what are the particular priorities? Undoubtedly, they are restructuring the operation of the entire network of institutions that we come up against most frequently: the hospitals, the ambulance service, and the out-patient clinics.

As for the out-patient clinics, I should like to see them upgraded and updated. Basically, of course, all they do now is hand out sickness certificates. A person ought to be able to receive here all basic forms of diagnostic checkup and treatment under ambulatory conditions. For this purpose it is planned to staff the clinics with a full complement of doctors and medical technicians, which until now have been in short supply in several of the rayons, while at the same time increasing the number of clinics, strengthening their material and technical support, markedly improving preventive measures, and introducing new and progressive forms of rendering assistance, such as, for example, the "family doctor" principle.

I want to stress particularly that the rayon and inter-rayon diagnostic and consultative centers, which are now being organized in Moscow, are in no respect going to develop their operations at the expense or to the detriment of the out-patient clinics.

Right now our city has 102,000 hospital beds. Whether this number is large or small, you may judge for yourself. But bear in mind that functioning of the notorious "residual principle" led to 60 percent of these stocks being in need of repair. We consider it a basic task to renovate and restore these stocks, and—I want to stress particularly—to make the supply commensurate with the demand. For there is now a shortage of in-patient facilities for urological, neurological, as well as general practice cases, which cannot but be cause for concern. By contrast, there is, for example, a surplus of facilities for general surgery, and often easy operations are performed in them which could and should be done on an out-patient basis. In resolving this problem, as in dealing with all others, there should be a unified system and a unified policy for all rayons of the city, so that anyone who lives here can get prompt, specialized, and sophisticated treatment.

Thus we see the strategic task not, as they say, in terms of quantity but of quality; and not simply in increasing the overall number of hospital beds but in renovating those that are in use. (Of course, it is necessary also to build new and advanced ones.) But the main thing is to increase the return from existing stocks.

A few remarks about emergency first aid. The city is now divided into four zones, which makes it possible, in the first place, to admit the patient at the in-patient facility closest to home. The convenience of this, I think, is readily understandable. In the second place, this option is better than hospitalization in terms of efficiency. Let me be frank. Moscow's ambulance service has for the present many serious unresolved problems, related to equipment and transport as well as diagnostic and treatment facilities provided for ambulance crews. With respect to ambulance service available to children, the problem is so acute that the administration has created a special group with the task of making preparations in the event of death.

Speaking of children, I am obliged to touch on the grim topic of child and infant mortality. Ways of reducing it have recently been under discussion by the Board of Health of the Moscow City Soviet Executive Committee as well as by the boards within the USSR Ministry of Health. The statistics for the city are the same as for the country as a whole. Infant mortality in the city was 17-18 per thousand births in 1988, with 60 percent of deaths occurring in infancy. This means that considerable improvement is required in the provision of maternity homes and advisory services for women. The shortage of maternity homes is ongoing, although two homes are to be placed in service this year and 10 homes by 1995.

Generally, it must be said that there is a need to streamline our city's health care services; that is, to orient the entire system towards the individual person and his health. There is still the strong predominance of formalism in our ranks, resulting in endless inquiries by commissions, consisting of four or five doctors apiece, which may or may not be necessary but which force people to take time off from their regular duties.

Or look at this situation. There are quite a number of medical teaching and research institutions in Moscow, including the schools of medicine. However, they perform no work for the city—only advisory services at best. Is this right? We are convinced that to provide high-quality health care it is necessary to unite efforts, so that the academic community may share equal responsibility with hospital physicians for the health of Moscow residents.

In conclusion, I consider it necessary to say a few words about a problem that, if left unsolved, all efforts—even those of the most self-sacrificing medical practitioners—will fail to yield the results that are necessary. I am speaking of providing our institutions with equipment and medical supplies. To save money on this, including foreign exchange currency, means trying to economize at the expense of people's health. About the state of things in this respect, much has been said and written that need not be repeated. Just let me cite one final example. The USSR Ministry of the Medical and Microbiological Industry failed to supply Moscow medical institutions with an adequate number of hypodermic syringes for various purposes. Moreover, part of those that did get delivered were without needles. This happened in spite of the fact that everyone knew syringes were critically needed, most of all in maternity homes and children's hospitals. Not a few such examples might be cited. Doctors encounter them in daily practice every day. Granted, the role of the doctor is not for everyone. But the assumption of a responsible attitude by all departments for the health of people constitutes one of the most important tasks we face.

**Moscow's External Trade Reviewed**  
18001079 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in  
Russian 30 Apr 89 p 3

[Interview with Ye. Voldemarova, deputy chief of the Social and Economic Department of the CPSU Moscow City Committee, by TASS Moscow correspondent: "How to Develop the Capital's External Economic Ties—Needed: A Well-Developed Concept"]

[Text] Among the most vital tasks of economic reform set by the 27th CPSU Conference and the 19th All-Union Party Conference is a radical restructuring of the system of external economic relations. In response to questions raised by a MosTASS correspondent regarding how this task is being dealt with in the capital, the following remarks were made by Ye. Voldemarova, deputy chief of the Social and Economic Department of the CPSU's Moscow City Committee.

[Correspondent] Yelena Vladimirova, how are the capital's external economic ties developing now?

[Ye. Voldemarova] Very vigorously. It is sufficient to say that of all 392 joint enterprises registered at present on the territory of the USSR, half of them are located in Moscow. Among them are 180 plants and factories in the capital city and more than 20 cooperatives. More than 200 Moscow enterprises deliver their products for export. About 500 industrial, research, design, construction, and other enterprises and organizations, as well as VUZ's in the city, have direct ties with partners in the socialist countries. The trading organizations of Moscow are continuing to extend reciprocal exchange with trading partners in the fraternal countries.

Such a rapid development of external economic ties on the part of Moscow is, of course, brought about by its status as the capital and also as a major scientific and industrial center of the country. Here are situated all the central administrative bodies for managing the national economy, the ministries and departments for the industrial sectors, and a majority of the foreign trade associations as well as institutions of banking, credit and finance, and transport, serving, in effect, the entire foreign economic complex of the USSR. In the city are located the foreign trade representatives as well as most of the representatives of foreign firms and economic organizations abroad. Moscow is host to 70 percent of all foreign tourists in the Soviet Union and 90 percent of all incoming businessmen.

Having at its disposal considerable scientific resources and highly qualified skilled workers, Moscow outranks all other regions of the country as a supplier for the foreign market of scientific ideas, inventions, "know-how," and joint research projects.

[Correspondent] Can the development of these ties be considered on the whole successful?

[Ye. Voldemarova] There are no grounds for satisfaction. While in the process of working out the pertinent section of a comprehensive industrial program for the territorial program Progress-95, we came up against the fact that the powerful industrial, scientific, and technical potential of Moscow is for the present being inadequately exploited. The city lacks a unified conceptual scheme for foreign economic activity. Facilities for informing enterprises of existing opportunities for cooperation are inadequate, and virtually no use is made of the proximity of the central departments.

In recent years exhibitions of the union republics and separate enterprises, revealing their export capabilities for foreign partners, have been held at the International Trade Center and other exhibit halls of the USSR Chamber of Commerce. But not once has Moscow been featured. Moreover, the capital enterprises have played a less prominent part in such exhibitions than those representing the other regions.

The absence of a deliberately devised program to develop joint enterprises and a system of priorities brings us to a point where mixed firms are created without regard for the tasks of industrial reconstruction in the capital or the capabilities of the city's industrial and social infrastructure. Already the city is experiencing an acute shortage of housing and lodging accommodations for foreign co-workers.

A number of matters pertaining to providing joint enterprises with city resources have not yet been worked out, including living and production space, water, power, sewage disposal plants, and manpower. The fact that these problems have not been resolved can lead to the establishment of joint enterprises in the capital which will not be capable of carrying out crucial tasks of the national economy or of improving the lot of Moscow residents. Moreover, there are inadequate accommodations as well as work and other resources for the firms that are really needed in the city.

Qualitative changes for the better in structuring the imports and exports of the Moscow enterprises are taking place slowly. Many of these enterprises are trying, as they did previously, to deal with problems not by spending their own foreign exchange profits but for the most part by using centralized assets. The amount of undisclosed imported equipment is increasing, and it amounts to more than half a billion rubles right now in Moscow organizations.

The entry into production of scientific applications achieved within the framework of direct relations with partners in the socialist countries is obviously inadequate. Meanwhile, basically, the foreign economic activities of the cooperatives are occurring spontaneously, and in effect nobody is monitoring or trying to analyze them.

[Correspondent] But who is supposed to do this?

[Ye. Voldemarova] The soviets of people's deputies, whose authority to exert leadership in economic and social matters within their jurisdictions has today been considerably expanded. Developing foreign economic ties becomes particularly pressing precisely because of preparations in Moscow to convert to principles of self-financing and self-government.

Already local soviets have the right to receive 5 percent of foreign exchange earnings of all enterprises and organizations situated within their jurisdictions. This year the capital can obtain through this means, it is estimated by experts, about 42 million rubles, a portion of which will be turned over to the rayons.

Unfortunately, certain managers continue to regard foreign economic activity as something "exotic." They underestimate the potential value of attracting foreign investments on a mutually advantageous basis and using foreign exchange earnings to resolve the city's social problems. True, gratifying changes have already come about. In Pervomayskiy Rayon, for example, a proposal is under consideration to solve a number of important social problems in cooperation with a joint Soviet and West German enterprise situated on its territory. The executive committee of Kalininskiy Rayon has opened its own foreign exchange account, which can be used to improve the rayon economy and to equip institutions for children and clubs.

However, we are obviously still far from developing an integrated system. This is attested to, for example, by the fact that different leaders in the Moscow City executive committee are responsible for the various spheres of foreign economic activity. The control over implementation of decisions reached by the executive committee with respect to these matters is poor.

Many of the difficulties stem from a lack of knowledge on the part of the cadres of the existing state of affairs in this area, together with a lack of initiative, skill, and understanding of how to organize matters. There are instances when owing to poor professional preparation of the founding documents, a shortage of experienced workers, or undue haste in making decisions with regard to the establishment of joint enterprises, a number of them found themselves in a crisis situation.

The seminar "Moscow in the System of Foreign Economic Trade," sponsored by the CPSU Moscow City Committee, is now in its second year. Discussions are led by top specialists; experienced consultants give the enterprises specific assistance. Often, however, people sent to the seminar are far removed from the field of foreign economic affairs. Obviously, they are just there on a junket. Clearly, not all managers realize foreign trade ties are an integral and inseparable part of the economy. Meanwhile, the party committees have not yet found a way to exert an influence on this important process.

[Correspondent] What is to be done to overcome these shortcomings?

[Ye. Voldemarova] The way out of them, as we see it, lies in creating a comprehensive and soundly structured system for the development of foreign trade, based on principles of territorial self-government and self-financing. The system should provide for closer coordination, economic regulation, and assistance in developing all kinds of foreign trade activities for the good of the city and the entire national economy, while increasing its efficiency.

A definite amount of work has already been done to devise the administrative system for the sector within the new general plan for managing the city's economy. A commission on foreign economic cooperation under the Moscow city executive committee has begun to operate, together with the foreign economic cost-accounting association Mosinter and the commercial bureau Mosinraschet. Corresponding departments have been set up in the subdivisions of the executive committee.

Probably, the time has come to think about creating, on the basis of the existing subdivisions, a single administrative body under the Moscow city executive committee for coordination, regulation, and assistance in developing foreign trade. Its main task, in our view, would be to coordinate all foreign economic ties with the interests of the city on the basis of a thorough analysis of foreign economic strategy and established priorities.

For the purpose of keeping Moscow enterprises better informed and selecting foreign economic partners, it seems expedient to set up a division of the USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry in Moscow, analogous to the ones in Leningrad and the Union republics.

The Moscow Scientific Production Association's automation system could be of considerable assistance in devising and setting up corresponding territorial programs with access to banks of the proposed Moscow Foreign Economic System, the Ministry of Finance, the Foreign Exchange Bank, the USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry, and statistical bodies.

A majority of industrial leaders in Moscow as well as our partners in the capital cities of socialist countries abroad also express their approval of forming coordinated councils for promoting cooperation between the fraternal countries.

Unfortunately, we are still only groping our way in the direction of overcoming decades of isolation from the processes of the world economy. Each step at this point is difficult, yet it promises advantages for our city and each one of its inhabitants. International cooperation that is founded on the new ways of thinking means, of course, a saving in time and resources and advancement in technology. It also means extending the volume of goods and services; whereas a shortage of goods and services means retarding the progress of perestroika, while exerting an unfortunate effect on the morale of Moscow residents. In sum, Moscow is learning the art of cooperative commerce, and the sooner we master it the better.

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